

# PERSIAN GULF WAR

## Organized Crime?



By William P. Litynski

# From the Grassy Knoll in Manhattan: Lone Gunman or Patsy?

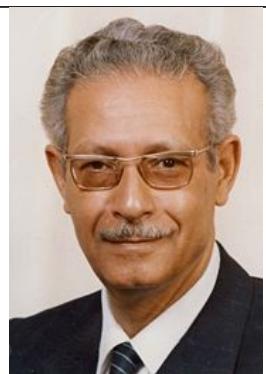
The Assassination of Israeli Extremist Rabbi Meir Kahane on November 5, 1990



Arab terrorist Yasser Arafat (left) meets with former U.S. President George H.W. Bush (right) at a hotel in Washington, D.C. on **September 13, 1993**. The 1993 World Trade Center Bombing occurred in New York City on **February 26, 1993**. El Sayyid Nosair, an Egyptian-born American citizen, was involved in murdering Rabbi Meir Kahane and was convicted for his involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center Bombing. (© Stephen Jaffe / Reuters)



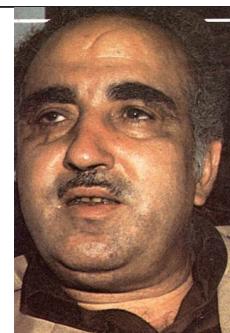
**Kazem Rajavi**  
Ambassador of Iran to  
the United Nations  
(1979-1980);  
Assassinated in  
Switzerland on April 24,  
1990



**Rifaat al-Mahgoub**  
Speaker of the Egyptian  
Parliament;  
Assassinated in Cairo,  
Egypt on October 13,  
1990



**Rabbi Meir Kahane**  
Founder of Jewish  
Defense League;  
Assassinated by a lone  
gunman in New York  
City hotel on  
November 5, 1990



**Salah Mesbah Khalaf  
(Abu Iyad)**  
Deputy Leader of the  
Palestine Liberation  
Organization (PLO);  
Assassinated by a lone  
gunman in Tunis,  
Tunisia on Jan. 14, 1991



**Shapour Bakhtiar**  
Prime Minister of Iran  
(January 4, 1979-  
February 11, 1979);  
Assassinated in Paris on  
August 6, 1991

# **Meir Kahane, 58, Israeli Militant and Founder of the Jewish Defense League**

By JOHN KIFNER

The New York Times

Published: November 06, 1990

Correction Appended

Rabbi Meir Kahane, the founder of the Jewish Defense League, who was shot to death in a Manhattan hotel last night, made a long journey from the streets of Brooklyn to a powerful position on the far-right fringes of Israeli politics.

To his followers, the 58-year-old Orthodox rabbi's slogan of "Never Again" meant simply that Jews would fight before enduring any threat; that the Holocaust would never be repeated. To his enemies, including many in Israel, he was a charlatan and a racist.

Elected to the Israeli Parliament in 1984, Rabbi Kahane threatened to become a major force in the fragmented world of Israeli politics until his Kach Party was banned in 1988 on the ground that it was racist and undemocratic.

He publicly called Arabs "dogs." Liberal Israelis pelted him with eggs, but he drew strength from many fearful and resentful Israelis, particularly Sephardic Jews of the Middle East.

## **Cheered at Rallies**

"I don't want to kill Arabs, I just want them to live happily, elsewhere," he told cheering rallies. "Give me the strength to take care of them once and for all."

"Kahane, King of Israel," his followers shouted back at a funeral of two Jewish schoolteachers allegedly killed by Arab youths in 1985. "Kahane, messiah, messiah. The Arabs are everywhere."

"Before his election a year ago, Kahane was just an illness; now he is an epidemic," Alouph Harevan, associate director of the Van Leer Foundation, a private Israeli research group trying to promote tolerance, said that year.

When he took his seat in Parliament, most Israeli political commentators dismissed him as "an American import" and a "racist lunatic" who would never find a serious following in Israel.

But it soon became clear he had tapped a visceral political feeling. An Appeal Based on Fear

"I have touched a simple and honest nerve on the part of the people," Rabbi Kahane said. He said the appeal was based on mounting fears Israelis had of Arabs and of a desire to end what they called the Arab problem once and for all.

That desire was still visible last May as Rabbi Kahane was part of a crowd seeking revenge after a Palestinian wielding a knife killed two Israelis in Jerusalem's Old City.

Joining hands in a human chain and shouting "Kill the Arabs" the crowd marched toward the walled city and tried to lynch two Arab passers-by who were rescued by the police. Rabbi Kahane was arrested in the incident.

## **Violence Between Arabs and Jews**

Political commentators in Israel said the appeal of his ideas, which was particularly strong among young voters, had several roots: nationalism had become increasingly acceptable; personal violence between Arabs and Jews had increased, and confidence in Israel's major parties had weakened.

Born Martin Kahane in New York on Aug. 1, 1932, Rabbi Kahane, who grew up in a second-floor apartment in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn, was the first-born son of Rabbi and Mrs. Charles Kahane.

"He was always a sensitive and sentimental boy," his father, a highly regarded Talmudic scholar, said in a 1971 interview.

## A Brilliant Student

As a boy, Meir began his education in neighborhood yeshivas, later enrolling as a night student at Brooklyn College, where he confirmed his reputation as a brilliant student, graduating in three and a half years.

Ordained as a rabbi after studying at the Mirrer Yeshiva, he was named to head a congregation in Howard Beach, Queens, where he served for two years in the mid-1950's.

The Rabbi began using the Anglicized pseudonym "Michael King" in 1962 -- mostly as a lark, he said.

To those who knew nothing of his background as a Brooklyn-born scholar, he was an author who lived in an apartment on Manhattan's East Side.

Meir's brother Nachman -- who came to regard his brother as "an idealistic fighter for a great cause" -- was later a ranking civil servant in Israel's Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Reminiscing about Meir in the interview, the father recalled that his son's political views first began to take shape in 1952, after swastikas were smeared on several synagogues in Brooklyn.

The elder Kahane, then the head of the Rabbinical Board of Flatbush, said he had returned home after a meeting about the incident feeling depressed and discouraged.

"Unwittingly, I said it would be a good idea if Jews would organize an underground," the father said. "Meir took it seriously."

"That's the only thing we can do,' " the father remembered Meir saying.

## Paramilitary Youth Movement

Meir came early to his militancy. As a teen-ager in Brooklyn, he joined Betar, the paramilitary youth movement of the right-wing Herut Party led by Menachem Begin, with its roots in the Jabotinsky Revisionist Movement. At 15, he smashed the car windows of the visiting British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, as a protest against the British mandate over Palestine. Beginning with that incident, he estimated that he spent a total of three years in jail in the United States.

Jewish philosophy, Rabbi Meir Kahane contended, was never based on Western democratic principles, but on Jewish ritual law, that he said forbade close contact with non-Jews.

"I have said it a million times," he said. "Western democracy as we know it is incompatible with Zionism. Zionism came into being to create a Jewish state. Zionism declares that there is going to be a Jewish state with a majority of Jews, come what may."

"Democracy says 'No, if the Arabs are the majority then they have the right to decide their own fate.' So Zionism and Democracy are at odds. I say clearly I stand with Zionism."

"I want a Jewish state, not a Hebrew-speaking Portugal," he said. 'Exchange of Populations'

Rabbi Kahane advocated what he called an "exchange of populations" -- the expulsion of Arabs -- contending that "a democracy allows non-Jews to become a majority and to turn Israel into a non-Jewish state."

"The idea of a democratic Jewish state is nonsense," he said.

He frequently warned against intermarriage and threatened in Israel to seek out Jewish women married to Moslems in Arab villages.

But reportorial investigations into Rabbi Kahane's own life have found a relationship he is alleged to have carried on under the name Michael King. The relationship was with a Christian woman, Gloria Jean D'Argenio, a sometime model who threw herself to her death from the Queensborough Bridge in 1966, apparently in despair over the relationship. Neighborhood Patrols

Rabbi Kahane founded the militant Jewish Defense League in Brooklyn in 1968, defying the stereotype of the Jew as victim. The organization mounted "anti-mugger" patrols in neighborhoods bordered by black areas, with which the group was at odds. They escorted Jewish teachers through black neighborhoods with baseball bats, taught riflery and karate to rabbinical students and invaded Soviet diplomatic offices here to protest the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union.

To his followers, he was the spearhead of insistence on Jewish rights. To established Jewish organizations, he was an embarrassment to the liberal traditions of Judaism and a right-wing danger to the faith. His enemies saw him as a terrorist.

The Jewish Defense League came under increasing pressure from the authorities, accused of a series of violent, anti-Soviet attacks, and Rabbi Kahane was sentenced to a year in jail for conspiring to make bombs.

He moved to Israel in 1971 and founded his Kach ("Thus") Party, which held many of the same ideals.

### **Power to Fringe Parties**

He was first elected to the Knesset in 1984 and in the fragmented Israeli parliamentary system, where proportional representation gives added power to fringe parties, particularly on the religious right, he was a growing political force.

But in October 1988, the Israeli Central Election Committee banned the party ruling it violated a 1985 law -- aimed specifically at Rabbi Kahane -- because of its "Nazi-like," "racist," and "undemocratic positions."

Rabbi Kahane is survived by his wife, the former Libby Blum; a brother, Nachman; his mother, Sonia; two sons, Baruch and Binyamin, and two daughters, whose names were not immediately available last night. All are of Jerusalem.

A funeral for Rabbi Kahane will be held at 2:30 P.M. today at Young Israel of Ocean Parkway, at 1781 Ocean Parkway in Flatbush, after which his body will be flown to Israel.

**Correction:** November 7, 1990, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final An obituary of Rabbi Meir Kahane in some copies yesterday described his education incorrectly. He graduated from the Yeshiva University High School for Boys in 1947. He did not attend the university's college, nor was he ordained at its Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary. In addition, the main front-page headline about Rabbi Kahane's death misstated the timing in some copies. He was shot after giving a speech, not during it. The obituary is reprinted today on page B12.

<http://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/06/obituaries/meir-kahane-58-israeli-militant-and-founder-of-the-jewish-defense-league.html>



**El Sayyid Nosair** as a younger man (left) and as an inmate (prisoner) in Marion, Illinois in 2013 (right)

El Sayyid Nosair, an Egyptian-born American citizen, was involved in murdering Rabbi Meir Kahane and was convicted for his involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center Bombing.



President of Lebanon Rene Moawad, a Maronite Christian, shakes hands with U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon John McCarthy (left) in Ihden, Lebanon on **November 19, 1989**. Moawad was assassinated in Beirut, Lebanon on **November 22, 1989**. (Photo: Maher Attar/Sygma/Corbis)



President George Bush and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia are seen laughing inside the Royal Palace in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia on **November 21, 1990**, less than two months before the beginning of the Persian Gulf War. Operation Desert Shield, a military operation involving the deployment of United Nations forces in Saudi Arabia, lasted from August 2, 1990 until January 16, 1991. (Photo: [George Bush Presidential Library](#))



President George H.W. Bush (left) visits Syria's despot Hafez Assad on **November 23, 1990**, less than two months before the beginning of the Persian Gulf War. Syria occupied Lebanon from 1976 until 2005. (Photo by Wally McNamee/CORBIS)

# Persian Gulf War: Organized Crime?

## Persian Gulf War: In Their Own Words



Gen. Smedley D. Butler

"WAR is a racket. It always has been. It is possibly the oldest, easily the most profitable, surely the most vicious. It is the only one international in scope. It is the only one in which the profits are reckoned in dollars and the losses in lives. A racket is best described, I believe, as something that is not what it seems to the majority of the people. Only a small "inside" group knows what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few, at the expense of the very many. Out of war a few people make huge fortunes."

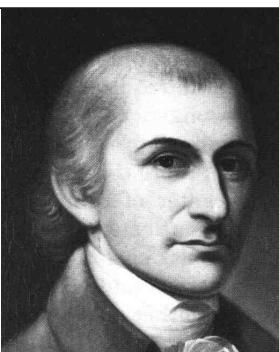
– Smedley D. Butler, Retired Major General of the U.S. Marine Corps, *War is a Racket*



Hermann Goering

"Why, of course the people don't want war. Why would some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best that he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece? Naturally, the common people don't want war; neither in Russia nor in England, nor in America, nor for that matter in Germany. That is understood. But, after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along whether it's a democracy, a fascist dictatorship, a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. ...but voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country."

– Hermann Goering, in a conversation with U.S. Army Captain Gustave Gilbert in a prison cell during the Nuremberg trials, on April 18, 1946. from *Nuremberg Diary*, by Gustave M. Gilbert



John Jay

"But the safety of the people of America against dangers from *foreign* force depends not only on their forbearing to give *just* causes of war to other nations, but also on their placing and continuing themselves in such a situation as not to *invite* hostility or insult; for it need not be observed that there are *pretended* as well as just causes of war. It is too true, however disgraceful it may be to human nature, that nations in general will make war whenever they have a prospect of getting anything by it; nay, absolute monarchs will often make war when their nations are to get nothing by it, but for the purposes and objects merely personal, such as thirst for military glory, revenge for personal affronts, ambition, or private compacts to aggrandize or support their particular families or partisans. These and a variety of other motives, which affect only the mind of the sovereign, often lead him to engage in wars not sanctified by justice or the voice and interests of his people."

– John Jay, *Federalist No. 4*

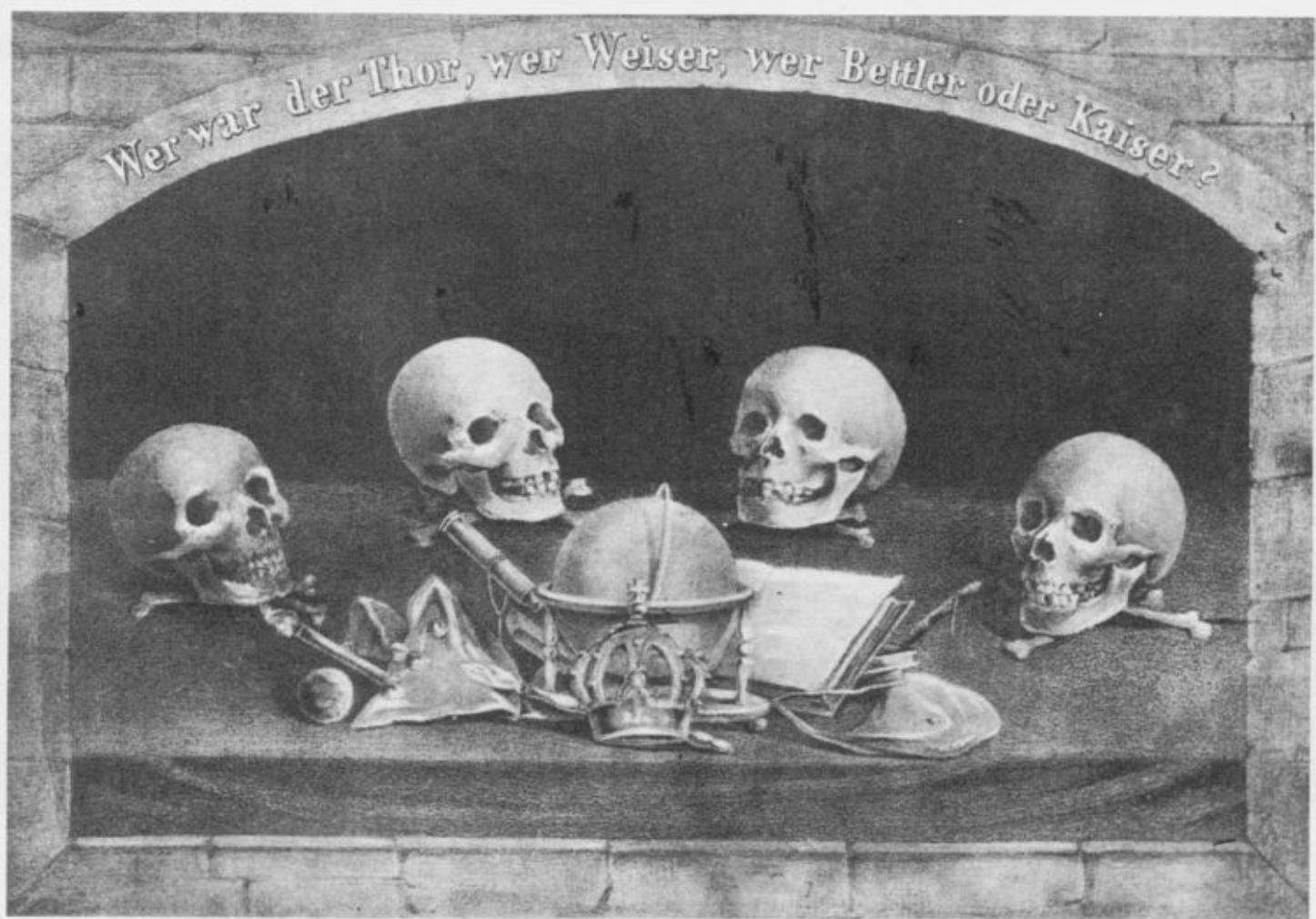


James Madison

"Of all the enemies to public liberty war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxes; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few. In war, too, the discretionary power of the Executive is extended; its influence in dealing out offices, honors, and emoluments is multiplied; and all the means of seducing the minds, are added to those of subduing the force, of the people. The same malignant aspect in republicanism may be traced in the inequality of fortunes, and the opportunities of fraud, growing out of a state of war, and in the degeneracy of manners and of morals engendered by both. No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare."

– U.S. Congressman James Madison, from *Political Observations*, April 20, 1795

# Skull & Bones at Yale University: Secret Society or Criminal Syndicate?

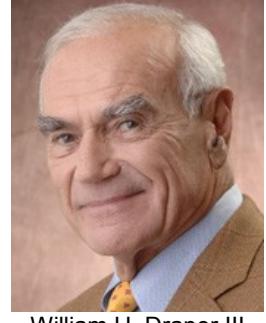
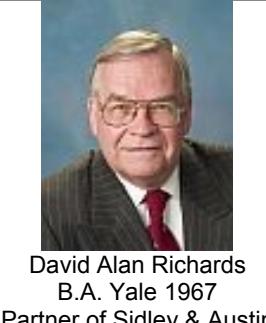


This picture, which hangs in the tomb, is in an 1882 Skull and Bones photograph album. Its engraving translates to “Who was the fool, who the wise man, beggar, or king?”

Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library

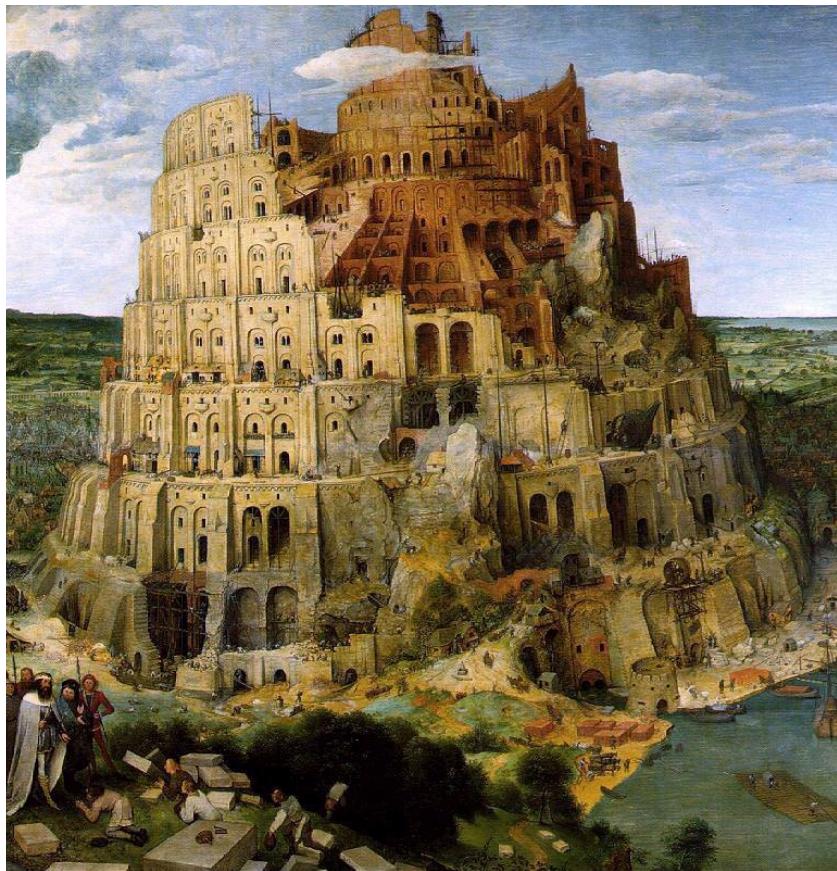
The Order of Skull & Bones is a secret society at Yale University. The Order of Skull & Bones is also known as the “Brotherhood of Death.” Skull & Bones initiation rituals allegedly include individuals resting naked in a coffin and revealing their sex life to 14 fellow Bonesmen. (Source: *Secrets of the Tomb: Skull and Bones, the Ivy League, and the Hidden Paths of Power* by Alexandra Robbins)

## Members of Skull & Bones during the Persian Gulf War (1991-2011)

				
<p>David L. Boren B.A. Yale 1963 U.S. Senator (D-Okla., 1979-1994)</p>	<p>John Forbes Kerry B.A. Yale 1966 U.S. Senator (D-Mass., 1985-2013)</p>	<p>George H.W. Bush B.A. Yale 1948 President of the U.S. (1989-1993)</p>	<p>George W. Bush B.A. Yale 1968 President of the U.S. (2001-2009)</p>	<p>William H. Donaldson B.A. Yale 1953 Chairman of Securities and Exchange Commission (2003-2005)</p>
				
<p>Frederick W. Smith B.A. Yale 1966 Chairman and CEO of FedEx Corp. (1975-pres.)</p>	<p>Stephen A. Schwarzman B.A. Yale 1969 Chairman and CEO of The Blackstone Group (1985-present)</p>	<p>John H. Chafee B.A. Yale 1947 U.S. Senator (R-Rhode Is., 1976-1999)</p>	<p>William F. Buckley Jr. B.A. Yale 1950 Editor-at-Large of <i>National Review</i> magazine (1991-2004)</p>	<p>Alexander T. Ercklentz B.A. Yale 1959 Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman &amp; Co. (1978-present)</p>
				
<p>Thomas B. Wheeler B.A. Yale 1958 President and CEO of Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co. (1988-1999)</p>	<p>George Herbert Walker III B.A. Yale 1953 U.S. Ambassador to Hungary (2003-2006)</p>	<p>Robert D. McCallum Jr. B.A. Yale 1968 U.S. Ambassador to Australia (2006-2009); Associate U.S. Attorney General (2003-2006)</p>	<p>William H. Draper III B.A. Yale 1950 Administrator of United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] (1986-1993)</p>	<p>James L. Buckley B.A. Yale 1944 Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit (1985-1996)</p>
				
<p>George Harold Pfau Jr. B.S. Yale 1948 Senior Vice President of Paine Webber [acquired by UBS] (1979-c.2004)</p>	<p>Victor Ashe B.A. Yale 1967 U.S. Ambassador to Poland (2004-2009)</p>	<p>Robert W. Kagan B.A. Yale 1980 Columnist for <i>The Washington Post</i>; Co- Founder of Project for the New American Century</p>	<p>David Alan Richards B.A. Yale 1967 Partner of Sidley &amp; Austin [law firm in Chicago and New York City] (1983-2000)</p>	<p>William D. Nordhaus B.A. Yale 1963 Professor of Economics at Yale University (1973-present)</p>



The Tomb, official headquarters of The Order of Skull & Bones, is located at Yale University on High Street in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.



Tower of Babel near present-day Babylon



New Babylon Arch Entrance near Al Hillah, Iraq. (Photo: [Flickr](#))

## Chapter 24 of the Book of Matthew, King James Version of The Holy Bible

- 1: And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple: and his disciples came to him for to shew him the buildings of the temple.
- 2: And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things? verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.
- 3: And as he sat upon the mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?
- 4: And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you.**
- 5: For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many.
- 6: And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet.**
- 7: For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.**
- 8: All these are the beginning of sorrows.**
- 9: Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake.
- 10: And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.
- 11: And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.
- 12: And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.
- 13: But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.
- 14: And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come.
- 15: When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand:)
- 16: Then let them which be in Judaea flee into the mountains:
- 17: Let him which is on the housetop not come down to take any thing out of his house:
- 18: Neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes.
- 19: And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days!
- 20: But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath day:
- 21: For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.
- 22: And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.
- 23: Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not.
- 24: For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.**
- 25: Behold, I have told you before.
- 26: Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not.
- 27: For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.
- 28: For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.
- 29: Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken:
- 30: And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.
- 31: And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.
- 32: Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh:
- 33: So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.
- 34: Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.**
- 35: Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.**
- 36: But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.**
- 37: But as the days of Noe were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.
- 38: For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark,
- 39: And knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.
- 40: Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
- 41: Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left.
- 42: Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come.**
- 43: But know this, that if the goodman of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken up.
- 44: Therefore be ye also ready: for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.
- 45: Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season?
- 46: Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.
- 47: Verily I say unto you, That he shall make him ruler over all his goods.
- 48: But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming;
- 49: And shall begin to smite his fellowservants, and to eat and drink with the drunken;
- 50: The lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of,**
- 51: And shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.



U.S. President George W. Bush delivers a speech to crew aboard the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln, as the carrier steamed toward San Diego, California, U.S.A. on May 1, 2003. (Larry Downing/Reuters/Corbis)

**"Well, I think I was unprepared for war."**

– President George W. Bush, in an interview with ABC journalist Charlie Gibson on December 1, 2008



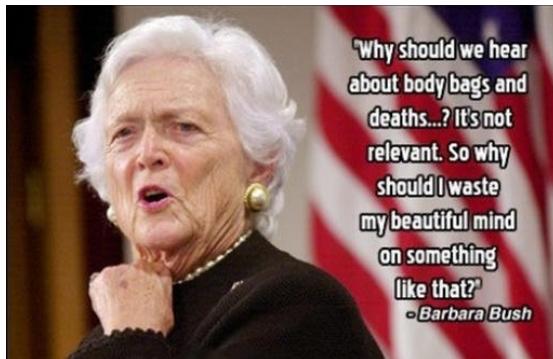
U.S. Senator John Kerry (left), a presidential candidate for the Democratic Party, and incumbent President George W. Bush (right), a presidential candidate for the Republican Party, laugh together during the 2004 presidential election. George W. Bush and John Kerry are members of Skull & Bones.

**"Our enemies are innovative and resourceful, and so are we. They never stop thinking about new ways to harm our country and our people, and neither do we."**

– U.S. President George W. Bush, in a speech in Washington, D.C. on August 5, 2004



**“We are not going to achieve a new world order without paying for it in blood as well as in words and money.”**  
– Arthur Schlesinger Jr., July/August 1995 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, “Back to the Womb?”, p. 8



**“But why should we hear about body bags, and deaths, and how many, what day it’s gonna happen, and how many this or what do you suppose? Or, I mean, it’s, it’s not relevant. So, why should I waste my beautiful mind on something like that?”** – Former First Lady Barbara Bush, *Good Morning America* on ABC, March 18, 2003

TIM RUSSERT: You both were members of Skull and Bones, a secret society at Yale. What does that tell us?

**SEN. JOHN KERRY: Not much, because it's a secret.**

— *Meet the Press* on NBC, August 31, 2003



TIM RUSSERT: You were both in Skull and Bones, the secret society.

**PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH: It's so secret we can't talk about it.**

— *Meet the Press* on NBC, February 7, 2004

**“In politics, nothing happens by accident. If it happens, you can bet it was planned that way.”**  
– Franklin Delano Roosevelt

# George H.W. Bush & “new world order”: A Faustian Bargain?



“Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective – a **new world order** – can emerge: a new era – freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace.”

– President George H.W. Bush, in a speech to Congress on September 11, 1990

“This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a **new world order** – a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful -- and we will be – we have a real chance at this **new world order**, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.’s founders.”

– President George H.W. Bush, in a speech delivered in the Oval Office on January 16, 1991

“For two centuries we've done the hard work of freedom. And tonight we lead the world in facing down a threat to decency and humanity. What is at stake is more than one small country; it is a big idea – a **new world order**, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle, and worthy of our children’s future.”

– President George H.W. Bush, State of the Union Address on January 29, 1991

“My vision of a **new world order** foresees a United Nations with a revitalized peacekeeping function.”

– President George H.W. Bush, in a speech delivered at the Economic Club of New York in New York City on February 6, 1991

“The victory over Iraq was not waged as “a war to end all wars.” Even the **new world order** cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace. But enduring peace must be our mission. Our success in the Gulf will shape not only the **new world order** we seek but our mission here at home.” – President George H.W. Bush, in a speech to Congress on March 6, 1991



Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev (left), President George H.W. Bush (center), and Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan (right) appear in a receiving line at a state dinner in Washington, D.C. on May 31, 1990. This photo appears in the book *The Age of Turbulence: Adventures in a New World* by Alan Greenspan. (Photo: George H.W. Bush Presidential Library)



President George W. Bush (left) and Vice President Dick Cheney (center) listen to Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan. Dick Cheney and Alan Greenspan are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. ([Washington Post/White House/AP Photo](#))



Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld (right) congratulates Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan (left) after awarding him the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service at the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia on January 23, 2006. Donald H. Rumsfeld and Alan Greenspan attended the 2002 Bilderberg Meetings in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. from May 30, 2002 to June 2, 2002. Alan Greenspan served as the Chairman of the Federal Reserve from August 11, 1987 to January 31, 2006 (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense/Petty Officer 1st Class Chad J. McNeely, U.S. Navy)

#### American National Debt during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) and Persian Gulf War (1991-2011):

September 30, 1977 - \$698,840,000,000.00*	September 29, 1995 - \$4,973,982,900,709.39
September 30, 1978 - \$771,544,000,000.00*	September 30, 1996 - \$5,224,810,939,135.73
September 30, 1979 - \$826,519,000,000.00*	September 30, 1997 - \$5,413,146,011,397.34
September 30, 1980 - \$907,701,000,000.00*	September 30, 1998 - \$5,526,193,008,897.62
September 30, 1981 - \$997,855,000,000.00*	September 30, 1999 - \$5,656,270,901,615.43
September 30, 1982 - \$1,142,034,000,000.00*	September 30, 2000 - \$5,674,178,209,886.86
September 30, 1983 - \$1,377,210,000,000.00*	September 30, 2001 - \$5,807,463,412,200.06
September 30, 1984 - \$1,572,266,000,000.00*	September 30, 2002 - \$6,228,235,965,597.16
September 30, 1985 - \$1,823,103,000,000.00*	September 30, 2003 - \$6,783,231,062,743.62
September 30, 1986 - \$2,125,302,616,658.42	September 30, 2004 - \$7,379,052,696,330.32
September 30, 1987 - \$2,350,276,890,953.00	September 30, 2005 - \$7,932,709,661,723.50
September 30, 1988 - \$2,602,337,712,041.16	September 30, 2006 - \$8,506,973,899,215.23
September 29, 1989 - \$2,857,430,960,187.32	September 30, 2007 - \$9,007,653,372,262.48
September 28, 1990 - \$3,233,313,451,777.25	September 30, 2008 - \$10,024,724,896,912.49
September 30, 1991 - \$3,665,303,351,697.03	September 30, 2009 - \$11,909,829,003,511.75
September 30, 1992 - \$4,064,620,655,521.66	September 30, 2010 - \$13,561,623,030,891.79
September 30, 1993 - \$4,411,488,883,139.38	September 30, 2011 - \$14,790,340,328,557.15
September 30, 1994 - \$4,692,749,910,013.32	September 30, 2012 - \$16,066,241,407,385.89

Note: \*Rounded to Millions. Includes legal tender notes, gold and silver certificates, etc. The first fiscal year for the U.S. Government started Jan. 1, 1789. Congress changed the beginning of the fiscal year from Jan. 1 to Jul. 1 in 1842, and finally from Jul. 1 to Oct. 1 in 1977 where it remains today. To find more historical information, visit The Public Debt [Historical Information](#) archives.

# ‘Toward a New World Order’

## A transcript of former President George Herbert Walker Bush's address to a joint session of Congress and the nation

From the National Archives

September 11, 1990

Mr. President and Mr. Speaker and Members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, fellow Americans, thank you very much for that warm welcome. We gather tonight, witness to events in the Persian Gulf as significant as they are tragic. In the early morning hours of August 2d, following negotiations and promises by Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein not to use force, a powerful Iraqi army invaded its trusting and much weaker neighbor, Kuwait. Within 3 days, 120,000 Iraqi troops with 850 tanks had poured into Kuwait and moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia. It was then that I decided to act to check that aggression.

At this moment, our brave servicemen and women stand watch in that distant desert and on distant seas, side by side with the forces of more than 20 other nations. They are some of the finest men and women of the United States of America. And they're doing one terrific job. These valiant Americans were ready at a moment's notice to leave their spouses and their children, to serve on the front line halfway around the world. They remind us who keeps America strong: they do. In the trying circumstances of the Gulf, the morale of our service men and women is excellent. In the face of danger, they're brave, they're well-trained, and dedicated.

A soldier, Private First Class Wade Merritt of Knoxville, Tennessee, now stationed in Saudi Arabia, wrote his parents of his worries, his love of family, and his hope for peace. But Wade also wrote, "I am proud of my country and its firm stance against inhumane aggression. I am proud of my army and its men. I am proud to serve my country." Well, let me just say, Wade, America is proud of you and is grateful to every soldier, sailor, marine, and airman serving the cause of peace in the Persian Gulf. I also want to thank the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Powell; the Chiefs here tonight; our commander in the Persian Gulf, General Schwarzkopf; and the men and women of the Department of Defense. What a magnificent job you all are doing. And thank you very, very much from a grateful people. I wish I could say that their work is done. But we all know it's not.

So, if there ever was a time to put country before self and patriotism before party, the time is now. And let me thank all Americans, especially those here in this Chamber tonight, for your support for our armed forces and for their mission. That support will be even more important in the days to come. So, tonight I want to talk to you about what's at stake -- what we must do together to defend civilized values around the world and maintain our economic strength at home.

Our objectives in the Persian Gulf are clear, our goals defined and familiar: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition. Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored. The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured. And American citizens abroad must be protected. These goals are not ours alone. They've been endorsed by the United Nations Security Council five times in as many weeks. Most countries share our concern for principle. And many have a stake in the stability of the Persian Gulf. This is not, as Saddam Hussein would have it, the United States against Iraq. It is Iraq against the world.

As you know, I've just returned from a very productive meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev. And I am pleased that we are working together to build a new relationship. In Helsinki, our joint statement affirmed to the world our shared resolve to counter Iraq's threat to peace. Let me quote: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors." Clearly, no longer can a dictator count on East-West confrontation to stymie concerted United Nations action against aggression. A new partnership of nations has begun.

We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. **Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective -- a new world order -- can emerge: a new era -- freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace.** An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony. A hundred generations have searched for this elusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor. Today that new world is struggling to be born, a world quite different from the one we've known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak. This is the vision that I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki.

He and other leaders from Europe, the Gulf, and around the world understand that how we manage this crisis today could shape the future for generations to come.

The test we face is great, and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the new world that we seek, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose, if we do not continue to demonstrate our determination, it would be a signal to actual and potential despots around the world. America and the world must defend common vital interests -- and we will. America and the world must support the rule of law -- and we will. America and the world must stand up to aggression -- and we will. And one thing more: In the pursuit of these goals America will not be intimidated.

Vital issues of principle are at stake. Saddam Hussein is literally trying to wipe a country off the face of the Earth. We do not exaggerate. Nor do we exaggerate when we say Saddam Hussein will fail. Vital economic interests are at risk as well. Iraq itself controls some 10 percent of the world's proven oil reserves. Iraq plus Kuwait controls twice that. An Iraq permitted to swallow Kuwait would have the economic and military power, as well as the arrogance, to intimidate and coerce its neighbors -- neighbors who control the lion's share of the world's remaining oil reserves. We cannot permit a resource so vital to be dominated by one so ruthless. And we won't.

Recent events have surely proven that there is no substitute for American leadership. In the face of tyranny, let no one doubt American credibility and reliability. Let no one doubt our staying power. We will stand by our friends. One way or another, the leader of Iraq must learn this fundamental truth. From the outset, acting hand in hand with others, we've sought to fashion the broadest possible international response to Iraq's aggression. The level of world cooperation and condemnation of Iraq is unprecedented. Armed forces from countries spanning four continents are there at the request of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to deter and, if need be, to defend against attack. Moslems and non-Moslems, Arabs and non-Arabs, soldiers from many nations stand shoulder to shoulder, resolute against Saddam Hussein's ambitions.

We can now point to five United Nations Security Council resolutions that condemn Iraq's aggression. They call for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, and categorically reject Iraq's cynical and self-serving attempt to annex Kuwait. Finally, the United Nations has demanded the release of all foreign nationals held hostage against their will and in contravention of international law. It is a mockery of human decency to call these people "guests." They are hostages, and the whole world knows it.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a dependable ally, said it all: "We do not bargain over hostages. We will not stoop to the level of using human beings as bargaining chips ever." Of course, of course, our hearts go out to the hostages and to their families. But our policy cannot change, and it will not change. America and the world will not be blackmailed by this ruthless policy.

We're now in sight of a United Nations that performs as envisioned by its founders. We owe much to the outstanding leadership of Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar. The United Nations is backing up its words with action. The Security Council has imposed mandatory economic sanctions on Iraq, designed to force Iraq to relinquish the spoils of its illegal conquest. The Security Council has also taken the decisive step of authorizing the use of all means necessary to ensure compliance with these sanctions. Together with our friends and allies, ships of the United States Navy are today patrolling Mideast waters. They've already intercepted more than 700 ships to enforce the sanctions. Three regional leaders I spoke with just yesterday told me that these sanctions are working. Iraq is feeling the heat. We continue to hope that Iraq's leaders will recalculate just what their aggression has cost them. They are cut off from world trade, unable to sell their oil. And only a tiny fraction of goods gets through.

The communiqué with President Gorbachev made mention of what happens when the embargo is so effective that children of Iraq literally need milk or the sick truly need medicine. Then, under strict international supervision that guarantees the proper destination, then food will be permitted.

At home, the material cost of our leadership can be steep. That's why Secretary of State Baker and Treasury Secretary Brady have met with many world leaders to underscore that the burden of this collective effort must be shared. We are prepared to do our share and more to help carry that load; we insist that others do their share as well.

The response of most of our friends and allies has been good. To help defray costs, the leaders of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the UAE -- the United Arab Emirates -- have pledged to provide our deployed troops with all the food and fuel they need. Generous assistance will also be provided to stalwart front-line nations, such as Turkey and Egypt. I am also heartened to report that this international response extends to the neediest victims of this conflict -- those refugees. For our part, we've contributed \$28 million for relief efforts. This is but a portion of what is needed. I commend, in particular, Saudi Arabia, Japan, and several European nations who have joined us in this purely humanitarian effort.

There's an energy-related cost to be borne as well. Oil-producing nations are already replacing lost Iraqi and Kuwaiti output. More than half of what was lost has been made up. And we're getting superb cooperation. If producers, including the United States, continue steps to expand oil and gas production, we can stabilize prices and guarantee against hardship. Additionally, we and several of our allies always have the option to extract oil from our strategic petroleum reserves if conditions warrant. As I've pointed out before, conservation efforts are essential to keep our energy needs as low as possible. And we must then take advantage of our energy sources across the board: coal, natural gas, hydro, and nuclear. Our failure to do these things has made us more dependent on foreign oil than ever before. Finally, let no one even contemplate profiteering from this crisis. We will not have it.

I cannot predict just how long it will take to convince Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Sanctions will take time to have their full intended effect. We will continue to review all options with our allies, but let it be clear: we will not let this aggression stand.

Our interest, our involvement in the Gulf is not transitory. It predated Saddam Hussein's aggression and will survive it. Long after all our troops come home -- and we all hope it's soon, very soon -- there will be a lasting role for the United States in assisting the nations of the Persian Gulf. Our role then: to deter future aggression. Our role is to help our friends in their own self-defense. And something else: to curb the proliferation of chemical, biological, ballistic missile and, above all, nuclear technologies.

Let me also make clear that the United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. Our quarrel is with Iraq's dictator and with his aggression. Iraq will not be permitted to annex Kuwait. That's not a threat, that's not a boast, that's just the way it's going to be.

Our ability to function effectively as a great power abroad depends on how we conduct ourselves at home. Our economy, our Armed Forces, our energy dependence, and our cohesion all determine whether we can help our friends and stand up to our foes. For America to lead, America must remain strong and vital. Our world leadership and domestic strength are mutual and reinforcing; a woven piece, strongly bound as Old Glory. To revitalize our leadership, our leadership capacity, we must address our budget deficit -- not after election day, or next year, but now.

Higher oil prices slow our growth, and higher defense costs would only make our fiscal deficit problem worse. That deficit was already greater than it should have been -- a projected \$232 billion for the coming year. It must -- it will -- be reduced.

To my friends in Congress, together we must act this very month -- before the next fiscal year begins on October 1st -- to get America's economic house in order. The Gulf situation helps us realize we are more economically vulnerable than we ever should be. Americans must never again enter any crisis, economic or military, with an excessive dependence on foreign oil and an excessive burden of Federal debt.

Most Americans are sick and tired of endless battles in the Congress and between the branches over budget matters. It is high time we pulled together and get the job done right. It's up to us to straighten this out. This job has four basic parts. First, the Congress should, this month, within a budget agreement, enact growth-oriented tax measures -- to help avoid recession in the short term and to increase savings, investment, productivity, and competitiveness for the longer term. These measures include extending incentives for research and experimentation; expanding the use of IRA's for new homeowners; establishing tax-deferred family savings accounts; creating incentives for the creation of enterprise zones and initiatives to encourage more domestic drilling; and, yes, reducing the tax rate on capital gains.

And second, the Congress should, this month, enact a prudent multiyear defense program, one that reflects not only the improvement in East-West relations but our broader responsibilities to deal with the continuing risks of outlaw action and regional conflict. Even with our obligations in the Gulf, a sound defense budget can have some reduction in real terms; and we're prepared to accept that. But to go beyond such levels, where cutting defense would threaten our vital margin of safety, is something I will never accept. The world is still dangerous. And surely, that is now clear. Stability's not secure. American interests are far reaching. Interdependence has increased. The consequences of regional instability can be global. This is no time to risk America's capacity to protect her vital interests.

And third, the Congress should, this month, enact measures to increase domestic energy production and energy conservation in order to reduce dependence on foreign oil. These measures should include my proposals to increase incentives for domestic oil and gas exploration, fuel-switching, and to accelerate the development of the Alaskan energy resources without damage to wildlife. As you know, when the oil embargo was imposed in the early 1970's, the United States imported almost 6 million barrels of oil a day. This year, before the Iraqi invasion, U.S. imports had risen to nearly 8 million barrels per day. And we'd moved in the wrong direction. And now we must act to correct that trend.

And fourth, the Congress should, this month, enact a 5-year program to reduce the projected debt and deficits by \$500 billion -- that's by half a trillion dollars. And if, with the Congress, we can develop a satisfactory program by the end of the month, we can avoid the ax of sequester -- deep across-the-board cuts that would threaten our military capacity and risk substantial domestic disruption. I want to be able to tell the American people that we have truly solved the deficit problem. And for me to do that, a budget agreement must meet these tests: It must include the measures I've recommended to increase economic growth and reduce dependence on foreign oil. It must be fair. All should contribute, but the burden should not be excessive for any one group of programs or people. It must address the growth of government's hidden liabilities. It must reform the budget process and, further, it must be real.

I urge Congress to provide a comprehensive 5-year deficit reduction program to me as a complete legislative package, with measures to assure that it can be fully enforced. America is tired of phony deficit reduction or promise-now, save-later plans. It is time for a program that is credible and real. And finally, to the extent that the deficit reduction program includes new revenue measures, it must avoid any measure that would threaten economic growth or turn us back toward the days of punishing income tax rates. That is one path we should not head down again.

I have been pleased with recent progress, although it has not always seemed so smooth. But now it's time to produce. I hope we can work out a responsible plan. But with or without agreement from the budget summit, I ask both Houses of the Congress to allow a straight up-or-down vote on a complete \$500-billion deficit reduction package not later than September 28. If the Congress cannot get me a budget, then Americans will have to face a tough, mandated sequester. I'm hopeful, in fact, I'm confident that the Congress will do what it should. And I can assure you that we in the executive branch will do our part.

In the final analysis, our ability to meet our responsibilities abroad depends upon political will and consensus at home. This is never easy in democracies, for we govern only with the consent of the governed. And although free people in a free society are bound to have their differences, Americans traditionally come together in times of adversity and challenge.

Once again, Americans have stepped forward to share a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. **At this very moment, they serve together with Arabs, Europeans, Asians, and Africans in defense of principle and the dream of a new world order.** That's why they sweat and toil in the sand and the heat and the sun. If they can come together under such adversity, if old adversaries like the Soviet Union and the United States can work in common cause, then surely we who are so fortunate to be in this great Chamber -- Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives -- can come together to fulfill our responsibilities here. Thank you. Good night. And God bless the United States of America.

National Archives Note: The President spoke at 9:09 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol. He was introduced by Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on nationwide television and radio.

Source: <http://www.sweetliberty.org/issues/war/bushsr.htm>

## **President George H.W. Bush's Speech Announcing War Against Iraq**

January 16, 1991

*On August 2, 1990, tanks and soldiers from Iraq crossed the border into neighboring Kuwait and seized the tiny, oil-rich nation. Iraqi troops then began massing along the border of Saudi Arabia. Within days, American troops were sent to Saudi Arabia in Operation Desert Shield, protecting Saudi Arabia from possible attack. On August 6th, the United Nations Security Council imposed a trade embargo and financial sanctions against Iraq and authorized the use of force by naval forces in the Persian Gulf to prevent any violations. President George Bush addressed a joint session of Congress a few weeks later and stated the U.S. could not allow Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein to seize control of vital oil resources in the Middle East. President Bush then doubled the size of Allied forces in the region to 430,000 soldiers. On November 29th, the U.N. Security Council authorized its member nations to use "all necessary means" to expel Iraqi troops from Kuwait if they did not withdraw by a deadline of January 15, 1991. President Bush then ordered more troops to the Gulf to pressure Saddam Hussein into evacuating Kuwait. On January 9, 1991, Secretary of State James Baker met with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz in Geneva for several hours in a last ditch effort to avoid war. The meeting ended in an impasse with Baker finally announcing the talks had failed. Three days later, the House of Representatives voted 250-183 and the U.S. Senate voted 52-47 to authorize President Bush to use military force. The January 15th deadline passed quietly, as the 545,000 Iraqi troops in and around Kuwait did not budge. By now 539,000 American troops were in the Gulf along with 270,000 Allied troops from more than two dozen nations, the largest assembly of land troops and air power since World War II. On January 17th, at 2:45 a.m., Baghdad time (6:45 p.m., January 16 - Eastern time), Operation Desert Shield became Operation Desert Storm as U.S. and Allied jets conducted a major bombing raid against Iraqi air defenses, communications systems, chemical weapons facilities, tanks and artillery. The air raid on Baghdad was broadcast live to a global audience by CNN correspondents perched on a city rooftop. This is the television speech President Bush gave shortly after the air attack had commenced.*

Just 2 hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed; its people, brutalized. Five months ago, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress, follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States, and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution, only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others traveled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held an historic meeting in Geneva, only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last-ditch effort, the Secretary-General of the United Nations went to the Middle East with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. And he came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution -- have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. Initial reports from General Schwarzkopf are that our operations are proceeding according to plan.

Our objectives are clear: Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions, and then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask: Why act now? Why not wait? The answer is clear: The world could wait no longer. Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over 5 months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities -- and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses, an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction -- a nuclear weapon. And while the world waited, while the world talked peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein dug in and moved massive forces into Kuwait.

While the world waited, while Saddam stalled, more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the Third World, emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, to the entire world, including to our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations, he could weaken the forces arrayed against him.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt. While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war.

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation resolutions. He did not do that. Instead, he remained intransigent, certain that time was on his side.

Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave Kuwait, or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead, he tried to make this a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he failed. Tonight, 28 nations -- countries from 5 continents, Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Arab League -- have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave.

**Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail as quickly as possible, and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and allied service men and women. I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam, and I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back. I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.**

**This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful -- and we will be -- we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.**

We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls." Those well-known words are so very true today. But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united, no nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbor.

No President can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the Nation's finest. Ours is an all-volunteer force, magnificently trained, highly motivated. The troops know why they're there. And listen to what they say, for they've said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could.

Listen to Hollywood Huddleston, Marine lance corporal. He says, "Let's free these people, so we can go home and be free again." And he's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said: "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82nd Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next 100 years. It's better to deal with this guy now than 5 years from now."

And finally, we should all sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who knows what's going to be next?"

I have called upon Hollywood and Walter and J.P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades-in-arms to do what must be done. Tonight, America and the world are deeply grateful to them and to their families. And let me say to everyone listening or watching tonight: When the troops we've sent in finish their work, I am determined to bring them home as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf, and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

President George Bush - January 16, 1991

Source: <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/bush-war.htm>



The remains of an Iraqi soldier resting in peace during the First Persian Gulf War (Operation Desert Storm) in 1991

# President George H. W. Bush's State of the Union Address

Delivered on Tuesday, January 29, 1991

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the United States Congress. I come to this house of the people to speak to you and all Americans, certain we stand at a defining hour.

Halfway around the world, we are engaged in a great struggle in the skies and on the seas and sands. We know why we're there. We are Americans—part of something larger than ourselves.

For two centuries we've done the hard work of freedom. And tonight we lead the world in facing down a threat to decency and humanity.

**What is at stake is more than one small country, it is a big idea—a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle, and worthy of our children's future.**

The community of nations has resolutely gathered to condemn and repel lawless aggression. Saddam Hussein's unprovoked invasion—his ruthless, systematic rape of a peaceful neighbor—violated everything the community of nations holds dear. The world has said this aggression would not stand, and it will not stand.

Together, we have resisted the trap of appeasement, cynicism and isolation that gives temptation to tyrants. The world has answered Saddam's invasion with 12 United Nations resolutions, starting with a demand for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal, and backed up by forces from 28 countries of six continents. With few exceptions, the world now stands as one.

The end of the cold war has been a victory for all humanity. A year and a half ago, in Germany, I said our goal was a Europe whole and free. Tonight, Germany is united. Europe has become whole and free, and America's leadership was instrumental in making it possible.

The principle that has guided us is simple: our objective is to help the Baltic peoples achieve their aspirations, not to punish the Soviet Union. In our recent discussions with the Soviet leadership we have been given representations, which, if fulfilled, would result in the withdrawal of some Soviet forces, a reopening of dialogue with the republics, and a move away from violence.

We will watch carefully as the situation develops. And we will maintain our contact with the Soviet leadership to encourage continued commitment to democratization and reform.

If it is possible, I want to continue to build a lasting basis for U.S.-Soviet cooperation, for a more peaceful future for all mankind.

The triumph of democratic ideas in Eastern Europe and Latin America, and the continuing struggle for freedom elsewhere around the world all confirm the wisdom of our nation's founders.

Tonight, we work to achieve another victory, a victory over tyranny and savage aggression.

We in this Union enter the last decade of the 20th Century thankful for all our blessings, steadfast in our purpose, aware of our difficulties and responsive to our duties at home and around the world.

For two centuries, America has served the world as an inspiring example of freedom and democracy. For generations, America has led the struggle to preserve and extend the blessings of liberty. And today, in a rapidly changing world, American leadership is indispensable. Americans know that leadership brings burdens, and requires sacrifice.

But we also know why the hopes of humanity turn to us. We are Americans; we have a unique responsibility to do the hard work of freedom. And when we do, freedom works.

The conviction and courage we see in the Persian Gulf today is simply the American character in action. The indomitable spirit that is contributing to this victory for world peace and justice is the same spirit that gives us the power and the potential to meet our challenges at home.

We are resolute and resourceful. If we can selflessly confront evil for the sake of good in a land so far away, then surely we can make this land all it should be.

If anyone tells you America's best days are behind her, they're looking the wrong way.

Tonight, I come before this house, and the American people, with an appeal for renewal. This is not merely a call for new government initiatives, it is a call for new initiative in government, in our communities, and from every American—to prepare for the next American century.

America has always led by example. So who among us will set this example? Which of our citizens will lead us in this next American century? Everyone who steps forward today, to get one addict off drugs; to convince one troubled teen-ager not to give up on life; to comfort one AIDS patient; to help one hungry child.

We have within our reach the promise of renewed America. We can find meaning and reward by serving some purpose higher than ourselves—a shining purpose, the illumination of a thousand points of light. It is expressed by all who know the irresistible force of a child's hand, of a friend who stands by you and stays there—a volunteer's generous gesture, an idea that is simply right.

The problems before us may be different, but the key to solving them remains the same: it is the individual—the individual who steps forward. And the state of our Union is the union of each of us, one to the other: the sum of our friendships, marriages, families and communities.

We all have something to give. So if you know how to read, find someone who can't. If you've got a hammer, find a nail. If you're not hungry, not lonely, not in trouble—seek out someone who is.

Join the community of conscience. Do the hard work of freedom. That will define the state of our Union.

Since the birth of our nation, “we the people” has been the source of our strength. What government can do alone is limited, but the potential of the American people knows no limits.

We are a nation of rock-solid realism and clear-eyed idealism. We are Americans. We are the nation that believes in the future. We are the nation that can shape the future.

And we've begun to do just that, by strengthening the power and choice of individuals and families.

Together, these last two years, we've put dollars for child care directly in the hands of parents instead of bureaucracies, unshackled the potential of Americans with disabilities, applied the creativity of the marketplace in the service of the environment, for clean air, and made homeownership possible for more Americans.

The strength of a democracy is not in bureaucracy, it is in the people and their communities. In everything we do, let us unleash the potential of our most precious resource—our citizens. We must return to families, communities, counties, cities, states and institutions of every kind, the power to chart their own destiny, and the freedom and opportunity provided by strong economic growth. That's what America is all about.

I know, tonight, in some regions of our country, people are in genuine economic distress. I hear them.

Earlier this month Kathy Blackwell of Massachusetts wrote me about what can happen when the economy slows down, saying, “My heart is aching, and I think that you should know—your people out here are hurting badly.”

I understand. And I'm not unrealistic about the future. But there are reasons to be optimistic about our economy.

First, we don't have to fight double-digit inflation. Second, most industries won't have to make big cuts in production because they don't have big inventories piled up. And third, our exports are running solid and strong. In fact, American businesses are exporting at a record rate.

So let's put these times in perspective. Together, since 1981, we've created almost 20 million jobs, cut inflation in half and cut interest rates in half.

Yes, the largest peacetime economic expansion in history has been temporarily interrupted. But our economy is still over twice as large as our closest competitor.

We will get this recession behind us and return to growth soon. We will get on our way to a new record of expansion, and achieve the competitive strength that will carry us into the next American century.

We should focus our efforts today on encouraging economic growth, investing in the future and giving power and opportunity to the individual.

We must begin with control of federal spending. That's why I'm submitting a budget that holds the growth in spending to less than the rate of inflation. And that's why, amid all the sound and fury of last year's budget debate, we put into law new, enforceable spending caps so that future spending debates will mean a battle of ideas, not a bidding war.

Though controversial, the budget agreement finally put the federal government on a pay-as-you-go basis, and cut the growth of debt by nearly \$500 billion. And that frees funds for saving and job-creating investment.

Now, let's do more. My budget again includes tax-free family savings accounts; penalty-free withdrawals from I. R. A.'s for first-time homebuyers; and, to increase jobs and growth, a reduced tax for long-term capital gains.

I know there are differences among us about the impact and the effects of a capital gains incentive. So tonight I am asking the congressional leaders and the Federal Reserve to cooperate with us in a study, led by Chairman Alan Greenspan, to sort out our technical differences so that we can avoid a return to unproductive partisan bickering.

But just as our efforts will bring economic growth now and in the future, they must also be matched by long-term investments for the next American century.

That requires a forward-looking plan of action, and that's exactly what we will be sending to the Congress. We have prepared a detailed series of proposals, that include:

- A budget that promotes investment in America's future—in children, education, infrastructure, space and high technology.
- Legislation to achieve excellence in education, building on the partnership forged with the 50 governors at the education summit, enabling parents to choose their children's schools and helping to make America No. 1 in math and science.
- A blueprint for a new national highway system, a critical investment in our transportation infrastructure.
- A research and development agenda that includes record levels of federal investment and a permanent tax credit to strengthen private R and D and create jobs.
- A comprehensive national energy strategy that calls for energy conservation and efficiency, increased development and greater use of alternative fuels.
- A banking reform plan to bring America's financial system into the 21st century, so that our banks remain safe and secure and can continue to make job-creating loans for our factories, businesses, and homebuyers. I do think there has been too much pessimism. Sound banks should be making more sound loans, now. And interest rates should be lower, now.

In addition to these proposals, we must recognize that our economic strength depends upon being competitive in world markets. We must continue to expand America's exports. A successful Uruguay round of world trade negotiations will create more real jobs, and more real growth, for all nations. You and I know that if the playing field is level, America's workers and farmers can outwork and outproduce anyone, anytime, anywhere.

And with the Mexican free trade agreement and our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative we can help our partners strengthen their economies and move toward a free trade zone throughout this entire hemisphere.

The budget also includes a plan of action right here at home to put more power and opportunity in the hands of the individual. That means new incentives to create jobs in our inner cities by encouraging investment through enterprise zones. It also means tenant control and ownership of public housing. Freedom and the power to choose should not be the privilege of wealth. They are the birthright of every American.

Civil rights are also crucial to protecting equal opportunity. Every one of us has a responsibility to speak out against racism, bigotry, and hate. We will continue our vigorous enforcement of existing statutes, and I will once again press the Congress to strengthen the laws against employment discrimination without resorting to the use of unfair preferences.

We're determined to protect another fundamental civil right: freedom from crime and the fear that stalks our cities. The Attorney General will soon convene a crime summit of the nation's law-enforcement officials. And to help us support them we need a tough crime control legislation, and we need it now.

As we fight crime, we will fully implement our national strategy for combatting drug abuse. Recent data show we are making progress, but much remains to be done. We will not rest until the day of the dealer is over, forever.

Good health care is every American's right and every American's responsibility. So we are proposing an aggressive program of new prevention initiatives—for infants, for children, for adults, and for the elderly—to promote a healthier America and to help keep costs from spiraling.

It's time to give people more choice in government by reviving the ideal of the citizen politician who comes not to stay, but to serve. One of the reasons there is so much support for term limitations is that the American people are increasingly concerned about big-money influence in politics. We must look beyond the next election, to the next generation. The time has come to put the national interest ahead of the special interest—and totally eliminate political action committees.

That would truly put more competition in elections and more power in the hands of individuals. And where power cannot be put directly into the hands of the individual, it should be moved closer to the people—away from Washington.

The federal government too often treats government programs as if they are of Washington, by Washington, and for Washington. Once established, federal programs seem to become immortal.

It's time for a more dynamic program life cycle. Some programs should increase. Some should decrease. Some should be terminated. And some should be consolidated and turned over to the states.

My budget includes a list of programs for potential turnover totaling more than \$20 billion. Working with Congress and the governors, I propose we select at least \$15 billion in such programs and turn them over to the states in a single consolidated grant, fully funded, for flexible management by the states.

The value of this turnover approach is straightforward. It allows the federal government to reduce overhead. It allows states to manage more flexibly and more efficiently. It moves power and decision-making closer to the people. And it reinforces a theme of this administration: appreciation and encouragement of the innovative power of "states as laboratories."

This nation was founded by leaders who understood that power belongs in the hands of the people. They planned for the future. And so must we—here and around the world.

As Americans, we know there are times when we must step forward and accept our responsibility to lead the world away from the dark chaos of dictators, toward the bright promise of a better day.

Almost 50 years ago, we began a long struggle against aggressive totalitarianism. Now we face another defining hour for America and the world.

There is no one more devoted, more committed to the hard work of freedom, than every soldier and sailor, every marine, airman and coastguardsman—every man and every woman now serving in the Persian Gulf.

Each of them has volunteered to provide for this nation's defense. And now they bravely struggle to earn for America and for the world and for future generations, a just and lasting peace.

Our commitment to them must be equal of their commitment to our country. They are truly America's finest.

The war in the Gulf is not a war we wanted. We worked hard to avoid war. For more than five months we, along with the Arab League, the European Community and the United Nations, tried every diplomatic avenue. UN secretary general Perez de Cuellar; presidents Gorbachev, Mitterand, Ozal, Mubarak, and Bendjedid; kings Fahd and Hassan; prime ministers Major and Andreotti—just to name a few—all worked for a solution. But time and again Saddam Hussein flatly rejected the path of diplomacy and peace.

The world well knows how this conflict began, and when: it began on August 2nd, when Saddam invaded and sacked a small, defenseless neighbor. And I am certain of how it will end. So that peace can prevail, we will prevail.

Tonight I'm pleased to report that we are on course. Iraq's capacity to sustain war is being destroyed. Our investment, our training, our planning—all are paying off. Time will not be Saddam's salvation.

Our purpose in the Persian Gulf remains constant: to drive Iraq out from Kuwait, to restore Kuwait's legitimate government, and to insure the stability and security of this critical region.

Let me make clear what I mean by the region's stability and security. We do not seek the destruction of Iraq, its culture or its people. Rather, we seek an Iraq that uses its great resources not to destroy, not to serve the ambitions of a tyrant, but to build a better life for itself and its neighbors. We seek a Persian Gulf where conflict is no longer the rule, where the strong are neither tempted nor able to intimidate the weak.

Most Americans know instinctively why we are in the Gulf. They know we had to stop Saddam now, not later. They know this brutal dictator will do anything, will use any weapon, will commit any outrage, no matter how many innocents must suffer.

They know we must make sure that control of the world's oil resources does not fall into his hands only to finance further aggression. They know that we need to build a new, enduring peace—based not on arms races and confrontation, but on shared principles and the rule of law.

And we all realize that our responsibility to be the catalyst for peace in the region does not end with the successful conclusion of this war.

Democracy brings the undeniable value of thoughtful dissent, and we have heard some dissenting voices here at home, some reckless, most responsible. But the fact that all the voices have the right to speak out is one of the reasons we've been united in principle and purpose for 200 years.

Our progress in this great struggle is the result of years of vigilance and a steadfast commitment to a strong defense. Now, with remarkable technological advances like the Patriot missile, we can defend the ballistic missile attacks aimed at innocent civilians.

Looking forward, I have directed that the S.D.I. program be refocused on providing protection from limited ballistic missile strikes, whatever their source. Let us pursue an S.D.I. program that can deal with any future threat to the United States, to our forces overseas and to our friends and allies.

The quality of American technology, thanks to the American worker, has enabled us to successfully deal with difficult military conditions, and help minimize the loss of life. We have given our men and women the very best. And they deserve it.

We all have a special place in our hearts for the families of men and women serving in the Gulf. They are represented here tonight, by Mrs. Norman Schwarzkopf. We are all very grateful to General Schwarzkopf and to all those serving with him. And I might also recognize one who came with Mrs. Schwarzkopf: Alma Powell, the wife of the distinguished Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. And to the families, let me say, our forces in the Gulf will not stay there one day longer than is necessary to complete their mission.

The courage and success of the R.A.F. pilots—of the Kuwaiti, Saudi, French, Canadians, Italians, the pilots of Qatar and Bahrain—all are proof that for the first time since World War II, the international community is united. The leadership of the United Nations, once only a hoped-for ideal, is now confirming its founders' vision.

I am heartened that we are not being asked to bear alone the financial burden of this struggle. Last year, our friends and allies provided the bulk of the economic costs of Desert Shield, and having now received commitments of over \$40 billion for the first three months of 1991, I am confident they will do no less as we move through Desert Storm.

But the world has to wonder what the dictator of Iraq is thinking. If he thinks that by targeting innocent civilians in Israel and Saudi Arabia, that he will gain an advantage—he is dead wrong. If he thinks that he will advance his cause through tragic and despicable environmental terrorism—he is dead wrong. And if he thinks that by abusing coalition P.O.W.s, he will benefit—he is dead wrong.

We will succeed in the Gulf. And when we do, the world community will have sent an enduring warning to any dictator or despot, present or future, who contemplates outlaw aggression.

**The world can therefore seize this opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a new world order—where brutality will go unrewarded, and aggression will meet collective resistance.**

Yes, the United States bears a major share of leadership in this effort. Among the nations of the world, only the United States of America has had both the moral standing, and the means to back it up. We are the only nation on this earth that could assemble the forces of peace.

This is the burden of leadership—and the strength that has made America the beacon of freedom in a searching world.

This nation has never found glory in war. Our people have never wanted to abandon the blessings of home and work, for distant lands and deadly conflict. If we fight in anger, it is only because we have to fight at all. And all of us yearn for a world where we will never have to fight again.

Each of us will measure, within ourselves, the value of this great struggle. Any cost in lives is beyond our power to measure. But the cost of closing our eyes to aggression is beyond mankind's power to imagine.

This we do know: Our cause is just. Our cause is moral. Our cause is right.

Let future generations understand the burden and the blessings of freedom. Let them say, we stood where duty required us to stand.

Let them know that together, we affirmed America, and the world, as a community of conscience.

The winds of change are with us now. The forces of freedom are united. We move toward the next century, more confident than ever, that we have the will at home and abroad, to do what must be done—the hard work of freedom.

May God bless the United States of America.

(Source: <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0900156.html>)

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Cessation of the Persian Gulf Conflict

President George H.W. Bush

March 6, 1991



President George H.W. Bush addresses a joint session of Congress regarding the "end" of the first Persian Gulf War with Iraq at the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on March 6, 1991. (Photo: George Bush Presidential Library and Museum)

Speaker Foley: Mr. President, it is customary at joint sessions for the Chair to present the President to the Members of Congress directly and without further comment. But I wish to depart from tradition tonight and express to you on behalf of the Congress and the country, and through you to the members of our Armed Forces, our warmest congratulations on the brilliant victory of the Desert Storm Operation.

Members of the Congress, I now have the high privilege and distinct honor of presenting to you the President of the United States.

The President: Mr. President. And Mr. Speaker, thank you, sir, for those very generous words spoken from the heart about the wonderful performance of our military.

Members of Congress, 5 short weeks ago I came to this House to speak to you about the state of the Union. We met then in time of war. Tonight, we meet in a world blessed by the promise of peace.

From the moment Operation Desert Storm commenced on January 16th until the time the guns fell silent at midnight 1 week ago, this nation has watched its sons and daughters with pride, watched over them with prayer. As Commander in Chief, I can report to you our armed forces fought with honor and valor. And as President, I can report to the Nation aggression is defeated. The war is over.

This is a victory for every country in the coalition, for the United Nations. A victory for unprecedented international cooperation and diplomacy, so well led by our Secretary of State, James Baker. It is a victory for the rule of law and for what is right.

Desert Storm's success belongs to the team that so ably leads our Armed Forces: our Secretary of Defense and our Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Dick Cheney and Colin Powell. And while you're standing -- [laughter] -- this military victory also belongs to the one the British call the "Man of the Match" -- the tower of calm at the eye of Desert Storm -- General Norman Schwarzkopf.

And recognizing this was a coalition effort, let us not forget Saudi General Khalid, Britain's General de la Billiere, or General Roquejoffre of France, and all the others whose leadership played such a vital role. And most importantly, most importantly of all, all those who served in the field.

I thank the Members of this Congress -- support here for our troops in battle was overwhelming. And above all, I thank those whose unfailing love and support sustained our courageous men and women: I thank the American people.

Tonight, I come to this House to speak about the world -- the world after war. The recent challenge could not have been clearer. Saddam Hussein was the villain; Kuwait, the victim. To the aid of this small country came nations from North America and Europe, from Asia and South America, from Africa and the Arab world, all united against aggression. Our uncommon coalition must now work in common purpose: to forge a future that should never again be held hostage to the darker side of human nature.

Tonight in Iraq, Saddam walks amidst ruin. His war machine is crushed. His ability to threaten mass destruction is itself destroyed. His people have been lied to, denied the truth. And when his defeated legions come home, all Iraqis will see and feel the havoc he has wrought. And this I promise you: For all that Saddam has done to his own people, to the Kuwaitis, and to the entire world, Saddam and those around him are accountable.

All of us grieve for the victims of war, for the people of Kuwait and the suffering that scars the soul of that proud nation. We grieve for all our fallen soldiers and their families, for all the innocents caught up in this conflict. And, yes, we grieve for the people of Iraq, a people who have never been our enemy. My hope is that one day we will once again welcome them as friends into the community of nations. Our commitment to peace in the Middle East does not end with the liberation of Kuwait. So, tonight let me outline four key challenges to be met.

First, we must work together to create shared security arrangements in the region. Our friends and allies in the Middle East recognize that they will bear the bulk of the responsibility for regional security. But we want them to know that just as we stood with them to repel aggression, so now America stands ready to work with them to secure the peace. This does not mean stationing U.S. ground forces in the Arabian Peninsula, but it does mean American participation in joint exercises involving both air and ground forces. It means maintaining a capable U.S. naval presence in the region, just as we have for over 40 years. Let it be clear: Our vital national interests depend on a stable and secure Gulf.

**Second, we must act to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the missiles used to deliver them. It would be tragic if the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf were now, in the wake of war, to embark on a new arms race. Iraq requires special vigilance. Until Iraq convinces the world of its peaceful intentions -- that its leaders will not use new revenues to rearm and rebuild its menacing war machine -- Iraq must not have access to the instruments of war.**

And third, we must work to create new opportunities for peace and stability in the Middle East. On the night I announced Operation Desert Storm, I expressed my hope that out of the horrors of war might come new momentum for peace. We've learned in the modern age geography cannot guarantee security, and security does not come from military power alone.

All of us know the depth of bitterness that has made the dispute between Israel and its neighbors so painful and intractable. Yet, in the conflict just concluded, Israel and many of the Arab States have for the first time found themselves confronting the same aggressor. By now, it should be plain to all parties that peacemaking in the Middle East requires compromise. At the same time, peace brings real benefits to everyone. We must do all that we can to close the gap between Israel and the Arab States -- and between Israelis and Palestinians. The tactics of terror lead absolutely nowhere. There can be no substitute for diplomacy.

A comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. Anything else would fail the twin test of fairness and security. The time has come to put an end to Arab-Israeli conflict.

The war with Iraq is over. The quest for solutions to the problems in Lebanon, in the Arab-Israeli dispute, and in the Gulf must go forward with new vigor and determination. And I guarantee you: No one will work harder for a stable peace in the region than we will.

Fourth, we must foster economic development for the sake of peace and progress. The Persian Gulf and Middle East form a region rich in natural resources with a wealth of untapped human potential. Resources once squandered on military might must be redirected to more peaceful ends. We are already addressing the immediate economic consequences of Iraq's aggression. Now, the challenge is to reach higher, to foster economic freedom and prosperity for all the people of the region.

By meeting these four challenges we can build a framework for peace. I've asked Secretary of State Baker to go to the Middle East to begin the process. He will go to listen, to probe, to offer suggestions -- to advance the search for peace and stability. I've also asked him to raise the plight of the hostages held in Lebanon. We have not forgotten them, and we will not forget them.

To all the challenges that confront this region of the world there is no single solution, no solely American answer. But we can make a difference. America will work tirelessly as a catalyst for positive change.

But we cannot lead a new world abroad if, at home, it's politics as usual on American defense and diplomacy. It's time to turn away from the temptation to protect unneeded weapons systems and obsolete bases. It's time to put an end to micromanagement of foreign and security assistance programs -- micromanagement that humiliates our friends and allies and hamstrings our diplomacy. It's time to rise above the parochial and the pork barrel, to do what is necessary, what's right, and what will enable this nation to play the leadership role required of us.

The consequences of the conflict in the Gulf reach far beyond the confines of the Middle East. Twice before in this century, an entire world was convulsed by war. Twice this century, out of the horrors of war hope emerged for enduring peace. Twice before, those hopes proved to be a distant dream, beyond the grasp of man. Until now, the world we've known has been a world divided -- a world of barbed wire and concrete block, conflict, and cold war.

**Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order.** In the words of Winston Churchill, a world order in which "the principles of justice and fair play protect the weak against the strong. . . ." A world where the United Nations, freed from cold war stalemate, is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders. A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations. The Gulf war put this new world to its first test. And my fellow Americans, we passed that test.

For the sake of our principles, for the sake of the Kuwaiti people, we stood our ground. Because the world would not look the other way, Ambassador al-Sabah, tonight Kuwait is free. And we're very happy about that.

**Tonight, as our troops begin to come home, let us recognize that the hard work of freedom still calls us forward. We've learned the hard lessons of history. The victory over Iraq was not waged as "a war to end all wars." Even the new world order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace. But enduring peace must be our mission. Our success in the Gulf will shape not only the new world order we seek but our mission here at home.**

In the war just ended, there were clear-cut objectives -- timetables -- and, above all, an overriding imperative to achieve results. We must bring that same sense of self-discipline, that same sense of urgency, to the way we meet challenges here at home. In my State of the Union Address and in my budget, I defined a comprehensive agenda to prepare for the next American century.

Our first priority is to get this economy rolling again. The fear and uncertainty caused by the Gulf crisis were understandable. But now that the war is over, oil prices are down, interest rates are down, and confidence is rightly coming back. Americans can move forward to lend, spend, and invest in this, the strongest economy on Earth.

We must also enact the legislation that is key to building a better America. For example, in 1990, we enacted an historic Clean Air Act. And now we've proposed a national energy strategy. We passed a child-care bill that put power in the hands of parents. And today, we're ready to do the same thing with our schools and expand choice in education. We passed a crime bill that made a useful start in fighting crime and drugs. This year, we're sending to Congress our comprehensive crime package to finish the job. We passed the landmark Americans with Disabilities Act. And now we've sent forward our civil rights bill. We also passed the aviation bill. This year, we've sent up our new highway bill. And these are just a few of our pending proposals for reform and renewal.

So, tonight I call on the Congress to move forward aggressively on our domestic front. Let's begin with two initiatives we should be able to agree on quickly: transportation and crime. And then, let's build on success with those and enact the rest of our agenda. If our forces could win the ground war in 100 hours, then surely the Congress can pass this legislation in 100 days. Let that be a promise we make tonight to the American people.

When I spoke in this House about the state of our Union, I asked all of you: If we can selflessly confront evil for the sake of good in a land so far away, then surely we can make this land all that it should be. In the time since then, the brave men and women of Desert Storm accomplished more than even they may realize. They set out to confront an enemy abroad, and in the process, they transformed a nation at home. Think of the way they went about their mission -- with confidence and quiet pride. Think about their sense of duty, about all they taught us about our values, about ourselves.

We hear so often about our young people in turmoil -- how our children fall short, how our schools fail us, how American products and American workers are second-class. Well, don't you believe it. The America we saw in Desert Storm was first-class talent. And they did it using America's state-of-the-art technology. We saw the excellence embodied in the Patriot missile and the patriots who made it work. And we saw soldiers who know about honor and bravery and duty and country and the world-shaking power of these simple words. There is something noble and majestic about the pride, about the patriotism that we feel tonight.

So, to everyone here and everyone watching at home, think about the men and women of Desert Storm. Let us honor them with our gratitude. Let us comfort the families of the fallen and remember each precious life lost.

Let us learn from them as well. Let us honor those who have served us by serving others. Let us honor them as individuals -- men and women of every race, all creeds and colors -- by setting the face of this nation against discrimination, bigotry, and hate. Eliminate them.

I'm sure that many of you saw on the television the unforgettable scene of four terrified Iraqi soldiers surrendering. They emerged from their bunker broken, tears streaming from their eyes, fearing the worst. And then there was an American soldier. Remember what he said? He said: "It's okay. You're all right now. You're all right now." That scene says a lot about America, a lot about who we are. Americans are a caring people. We are a good people, a generous people. Let us always be caring and good and generous in all we do.

Soon, very soon, our troops will begin the march we've all been waiting for -- their march home. And I have directed Secretary Cheney to begin the immediate return of American combat units from the Gulf. Less than 2 hours from now, the first plane load of American soldiers will lift off from Saudi Arabia, headed for the U.S.A. That plane will carry the men and women of the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division bound for Fort Stewart, Georgia. This is just the beginning of a steady flow of American troops coming home. Let their return remind us that all those who have gone before are linked with us in the long line of freedom's march.

Americans have always tried to serve, to sacrifice nobly for what we believe to be right. Tonight, I ask every community in this country to make this coming Fourth of July a day of special celebration for our returning troops. They may have missed Thanksgiving and Christmas, but I can tell you this: For them and for their families, we can make this a holiday they'll never forget.

In a very real sense, this victory belongs to them -- to the privates and the pilots, to the sergeants and the supply officers, to the men and women in the machines and the men and women who made them work. It belongs to the regulars, to the reserves, to the National Guard. This victory belongs to the finest fighting force this nation has ever known in its history.

We went halfway around the world to do what is moral and just and right. We fought hard and, with others, we won the war. We lifted the yoke of aggression and tyranny from a small country that many Americans had never even heard of, and we ask nothing in return.

We're coming home now -- proud, confident, heads high. There is much that we must do, at home and abroad. And we will do it. We are Americans.

May God bless this great nation, the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 9:12 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol. He was introduced by Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives. In his remarks, he referred to Dan Quayle, President of the Senate; Secretary of State James A. Baker III; Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney; Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf; Saudi commander Gen. Abdul Aziz bin Sultan; British commander Gen. Peter de la Billiere; French commander Gen. Michel Roquejoffre; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and Ambassador Saud Nasir al-Sabah of Kuwait. The address was broadcast live on nationwide television and radio.

Source: George H.W. Bush Presidential Library

[http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public\\_papers.php?id=2767&year=1991&month=3](http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public_papers.php?id=2767&year=1991&month=3)



**Mission accomplished?** U.S. President George W. Bush delivers a speech aboard the aircraft carrier *USS Abraham Lincoln* on May 1, 2003, as the carrier steamed toward San Diego, California, U.S.A. Bush delivered a speech announcing the conclusion of America's military operations against the Iraqi government and army led by Saddam Hussein.

# Yale University & Persian Gulf War



Yale University campus in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.



John Negroponte (left), the Director of National Intelligence, watches President George W. Bush (right) shake hands with Central Intelligence Agency Director Porter Goss (center) in the Oval Office on Friday, May 5, 2006, after Porter Goss announced his resignation. All three men graduated from Yale University. ([White House photo by Eric Draper](#))

# War Criminals or Damn Yankees?

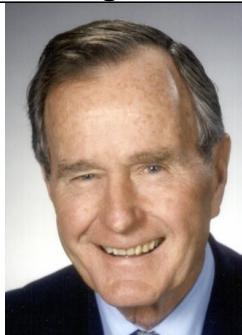
Yale University Graduates during the First Persian Gulf War (1991)



Dick Thornburgh  
B.E. Yale 1954  
U.S. Attorney General  
(1988-1991)



Nicholas F. Brady  
B.A. Yale 1952  
U.S. Secretary of the Treasury (1988-1993)



George H.W. Bush  
B.A. Yale 1948  
President of the U.S. (1989-1993)



Michael P.W. Stone  
B.A. Yale 1948  
Secretary of the Army (1989-1993)



William H. Taft IV  
B.A. Yale 1966  
U.S. Representative to NATO (1989-1992)



John H. Chafee  
B.A. Yale 1947  
U.S. Senator  
(R-Rhode Is., 1976-1999)



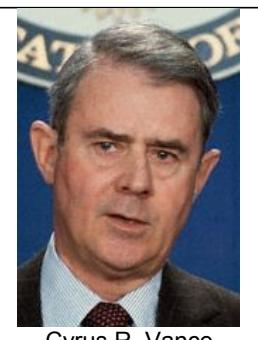
David L. Boren  
B.A. Yale 1963  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Okla., 1979-1994)



Joseph Lieberman  
B.A. Yale 1964  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Conn., 1989-2013)



John Forbes Kerry  
B.A. Yale 1966  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Mass., 1985-2013)



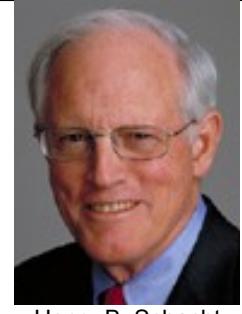
Cyrus R. Vance  
B.A. Yale 1939  
Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1989-1991)



Les Aspin  
B.A. Yale 1960  
U.S. Congressman  
(D-Wisconsin, 1971-1993)



Porter J. Goss  
B.A. Yale 1960  
U.S. Congressman  
(R-Florida, 1989-2004)



Henry B. Schacht  
B.S. Yale 1956  
Chairman and CEO of Cummins Engine (1977-1995)



John F. Akers  
B.S. Yale 1956  
Chairman and CEO of IBM (1986-1993)



Douglas A. Warner III  
B.A. Yale 1968  
President of J.P. Morgan & Co. (1990-2000)



Steven Lewis Friedman  
B.A. Yale 1968  
General Counsel in the United States for the Likud Party of Israel (1988-1999)



William H. Donaldson  
B.A. Yale 1953  
Chairman of the board of New York Stock Exchange (1991-1995)



William F. Buckley Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1950  
Editor-in-Chief of *National Review* magazine (1955-1990)



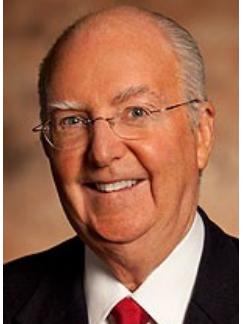
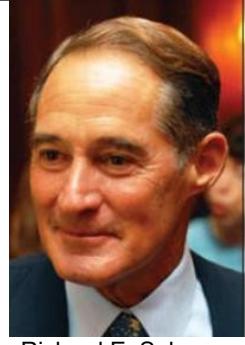
Wilbur Louis Ross Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1959  
Senior Managing Director of Rothschild, Inc. (1976-2000)



Bob Woodward  
B.A. Yale 1965  
*Washington Post* reporter (1971-present)

# War Criminals or Damn Yankees?

Yale University Graduates during the Second Persian Gulf War (2003-2011)

				
Robert D. McCallum Jr. B.A. Yale 1968 U.S. Ambassador to Australia (2006-2009); Associate U.S. Attorney General (2003-2006)	Clark T. Randt Jr. B.A. Yale 1968 U.S. Ambassador to Communist China (2001-2009)	George W. Bush B.A. Yale 1968 President of the U.S. (2001-2009)	Strobe Talbott B.A. Yale 1968 President, The Brookings Institution (2002-present)	Richard H. Brodhead B.A. Yale 1968 Ph.D. Yale 1972 President of Duke University (2004-present)
				
Paul E. Steiger B.A. Yale 1964 Managing Editor of <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> (1991-2007)	Robert G. Kaiser B.A. Yale 1964 Associate Editor of <i>The Washington Post</i> (1998-present)	Joseph Lieberman B.A. Yale 1964 U.S. Senator (D-Conn., 1989-2013)	John D. Ashcroft B.A. Yale 1964 U.S. Attorney General (2001-2005)	Richard E. Salomon B.A. Yale 1964 Vice Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations (2007-present)
				
Lewis "Scooter" Libby B.A. Yale 1972 Chief of Staff to the Vice President of the U.S. (2001-2005)	John R. Bolton B.A. Yale 1970 U.S. Representative to the United Nations (2005-2006)	Lewis Paul Bremer III B.A. Yale 1963 U.S. Proconsul in Iraq (May 12, 2003- June 28, 2004)	John D. Negroponte B.A. Yale 1960 U.S. Representative to the United Nations (2001-2004); U.S. Ambassador to Iraq (2004-2005)	Porter J. Goss B.A. Yale 1960 Director of Central Intelligence Agency (2004-2006)



Reuben Jeffery III  
B.A. Yale 1975  
Chairman of the  
Commodity Futures  
Trading Commission  
(2005-2007)



John D. Hawke Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1954  
Comptroller of the  
Currency (1998-2004)



John Forbes Kerry  
B.A. Yale 1966  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Mass., 1985-2013)



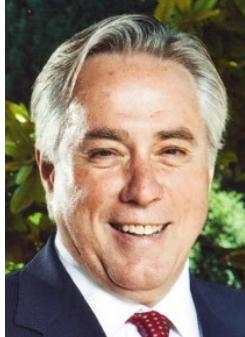
William H. Donaldson  
B.A. Yale 1953  
Chairman of Securities  
and Exchange  
Commission (2003-2005)



Mark W. Everson  
B.A. Yale 1976  
Commissioner of Internal  
Revenue Service  
(2003-2007)



Alexander R. Vershbow  
B.A. Yale 1974  
U.S. Ambassador to  
Russia (2001-2005)



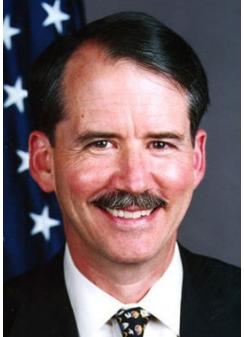
David Hoadley Thorne  
B.A. Yale 1966  
U.S. Ambassador to Italy  
(2009-2013)



Victor Ashe  
B.A. Yale 1967  
U.S. Ambassador to  
Poland (2004-2009)



George Herbert Walker III  
B.A. Yale 1953  
U.S. Ambassador to  
Hungary (2003-2006)



John Marshall Evans  
B.A. Yale 1970  
U.S. Ambassador  
to Armenia (2004-2006)



Stephen W. Preston  
B.A. Yale 1979  
General Counsel of the  
Central Intelligence  
Agency (2009-2013)



Anthony A. Williams  
B.A. Yale 1979  
Mayor of Washington,  
D.C. (1999-2007)



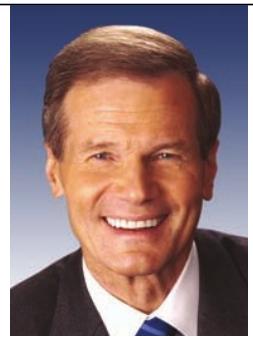
W. James McNerney, Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1971  
Chairman and CEO of  
Boeing (2005-present)



Sheila Jackson-Lee  
B.A. Yale 1972  
U.S. Congressman  
(D-Texas, 1995-present)



Lamar S. Smith  
B.A. Yale 1969  
U.S. Congressman  
(R-Texas, 1987-present)



Bill Nelson  
B.A. Yale 1965  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Florida, 2001-present)



Sherrod Brown  
B.A. Yale 1974  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Ohio, 2007-present)



Sheldon Whitehouse  
B.A. Yale 1978  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Rhode Island,  
2007-present)



Amy Klobuchar  
B.A. Yale 1982  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Minnesota,  
2007-present)



Mark Dayton  
B.A. Yale 1969  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Minnesota, 2001-2007)



Joel N. Ephross  
B.A. Yale 1983  
Assistant General  
Counsel of Enron Corp.  
(2002-2005)



Neal S. Wolin  
B.A. Yale 1983  
J.D. Yale 1988  
General Counsel of  
Hartford Financial  
Services Group, Inc.  
(2001-2007)



Stephen F. Gates  
B.A. Yale 1968  
General Counsel of  
ConocoPhillips  
(2003-2007)



William F. Kroener III  
B.A. Yale 1967  
General Counsel of  
Federal Deposit  
Insurance Corporation  
(FDIC) (1995-2006)



Stephen M. Cutler  
B.A. Yale 1982  
J.D. Yale 1985  
General Counsel of JP  
Morgan Chase & Co.  
(2007-present)



Robert B. Fiske, Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1952  
Partner of Davis, Polk &  
Wardwell (1964-2010)



Guy Miller Struve  
B.A. Yale 1963  
LL.B. Harvard 1966  
Partner of Davis, Polk &  
Wardwell (1973-2013)



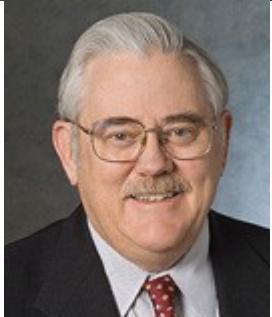
Bradley Y. Smith  
B.A. Yale 1970  
Partner of Davis, Polk &  
Wardwell (1980-2013)



Patrick S. Kenadjian  
B.A. Yale 1970  
Partner of Davis, Polk &  
Wardwell (1984-2010)



D. Scott Wise  
B.A. Yale 1974  
Partner of Davis, Polk &  
Wardwell (1987-2011)



Richard R. Howe  
B.A. Yale 1964  
Partner of Sullivan &  
Cromwell (1974-2009)



James H. Carter  
B.A. Yale 1965  
LL.B. Yale 1969  
Partner of Sullivan &  
Cromwell (1977-2010)



Richard G. Astrhalter  
B.A. Yale 1966  
J.D. Yale 1971  
Partner of Sullivan &  
Cromwell (1980-2008)



Richard J. Urowsky  
B.A. Yale 1967  
J.D. Yale 1972  
Partner of Sullivan &  
Cromwell (1980-2014)



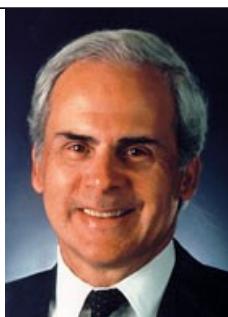
John M. Walker Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1962  
Chief Judge, U.S. Court of  
Appeals for the Second  
Circuit (2000-2006)



Jeffrey Bewkes  
B.A. Yale 1974  
Chairman of the board of  
Time Warner  
(2009-present)



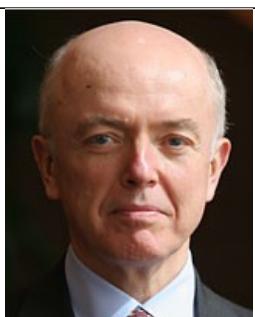
John E. Pepper Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1960  
Chairman of the board of  
The Walt Disney Co.  
(2007-2012)



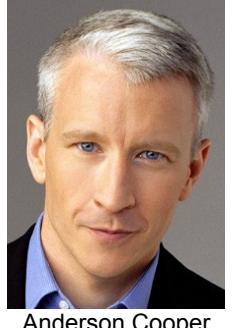
Frederick W. Smith  
B.A. Yale 1966  
Chairman and CEO of  
FedEx Corp. (1975-pres.)



Stephen A. Schwarzman  
B.A. Yale 1969  
Chairman and CEO of  
The Blackstone Group  
(1985-present)



Herbert M. Allison Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1965  
Chairman and CEO of  
TIAA-CREF (2002-2008)

 <p>David L. Boren B.A. Yale 1963 President of University of Oklahoma (1994-present)</p>	 <p>Steven Knapp B.A. Yale 1973 President of George Washington University (2007-present)</p>	 <p>Marvin Krislov B.A. Yale 1982 President of Oberlin College (2007-present)</p>	 <p>Michael A. Bernstein B.A. Yale 1976 Ph.D. Yale 1982 Provost of Tulane University (2007-present)</p>	 <p>Steven E. Hyman B.A. Yale 1974 Provost of Harvard University (2001-2011)</p>
 <p>Howard B. Dean III B.A. Yale 1971 Chairman of the Democratic National Committee (2005-2009)</p>	 <p>Carl Gershman B.A. Yale 1965 President of the National Endowment for Democracy (1984-pres.)</p>	 <p>Jonathan F. Fanton B.A. Yale 1965 President, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (1999-2009)</p>	 <p>David M. Schizer B.A. Yale 1990 J.D. Yale1993 Dean of Columbia Law School (2004-present)</p>	 <p>Kurt L. Schmoke B.A. Yale 1971 Dean of Howard University School of Law (2003-2012)</p>
 <p>Robert W. Kagan B.A. Yale 1980 Columnist for <i>The Washington Post</i>; Co-Founder of Project for the New American Century</p>	 <p>Bob Woodward B.A. Yale 1965 <i>Washington Post</i> reporter (1971-present)</p>	 <p>James F. Hoge Jr. B.A. Yale 1958 Editor of <i>Foreign Affairs</i> magazine (1992-2010)</p>	 <p>Fareed Zakaria B.A. Yale 1986 Editor of <i>Newsweek International</i></p>	 <p>Anderson Cooper B.A. Yale 1989 CNN reporter (2001-present)</p>
 <p>Bob Taft B.A. Yale 1963 Governor of Ohio (1999-2007)</p>	 <p>Gary Locke B.A. Yale 1972 Governor of Washington (1997-2005); U.S. Secretary of Commerce (2009-2011)</p>	 <p>George Pataki B.A. Yale 1967 Governor of New York (1995-2006)</p>	 <p>Paul Krugman B.A. Yale 1974 Op-Ed Columnist for The New York Times (1999-present)</p>	 <p>Rashid Khalidi B.A. Yale 1970 Edward Said Professor of Arab Studies at Columbia University</p>

Yale University Graduates and Their Occupation during the  
First Persian Gulf War (1991), Bosnia War (1992-1995), and Kosovo War (1998-1999)

Government Officials:

- George H.W. Bush (B.A. 1948, S&B 1948) – President of the United States (1989-1993)  
\*Nicholas F. Brady (B.A. 1952) – Secretary of the Treasury (1988-1993); Chairman and CEO of Dillon, Read & Co. (1982-1988)  
\*Michael P.W. Stone (B.A. 1948) – Secretary of the Army (1989-1993)  
Charles W. Freeman Jr. (B.A. 1965?) – U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (1990-1992)  
\*William H. Taft IV (B.A. 1966) – U.S. Representative to NATO (1989-1992)  
Fred T. Goldberg Jr. (B.A. 1969, J.D. 1973) – Commissioner of Internal Revenue Service (1989-1992)
- \*Les Aspin (B.A. 1960) – U.S. Secretary of Defense (1993-1994); Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (1971-1993)  
\*Strobe Talbott (B.A. 1968, RS) – Deputy Secretary of State (1994-2001)  
\*Alexander R. Vershbow (B.A. 1974) – U.S. Representative to NATO (1998-2001)  
\*Winston Lord (B.A. 1959, S&B 1959) – Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1993-1997); U.S. Ambassador to Communist China (1985-1989)  
\*Ashton B. Carter (B.A. 1976, RS) – Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy (1993-1996)  
\*Gilbert F. Casellas (B.A. 1974) – General Counsel of the Department of the Air Force (1993-1994); Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1994-1997)  
\*Stephen W. Preston (B.A. 1979) – General Counsel of the Department of the Navy (1998-2000)  
\*Neal S. Wolin (B.A. 1983, J.D. 1988) – General Counsel of the U.S. Treasury Department (1999-2001); Deputy General Counsel of the U.S. Treasury Department (1995-1999); Special Assistant to the Director of Central Intelligence Agency (1990-1993); Executive Assistant to the National Security Advisor (1994-1995)  
\*Kenneth M. Pollack (B.A. 1988) – Iran-Iraq Military Analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency (1988-1995); Director for Persian Gulf Affairs at the National Security Council (1999-2001); Director for National Security Studies at Council on Foreign Relations (2001-2002)  
\*John D. Negroponte (B.A. 1960) – U.S. Ambassador to Mexico (1989-1993)  
\*John R. Bolton (B.A. 1970; J.D. 1974) – Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs (1989-1993)  
\*Joseph Verner Reed Jr. (B.A. 1961) – Chief of Protocol for the White House (1989-1991); Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations and Special Representative for Public Affairs (1992-1997); Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations (1992-present)  
Grover Joseph Rees III (B.A. 1973?) – General Counsel of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (1991-1993)
- \*Robert H. Pelletreau Jr. (B.A. 1957) – U.S. Ambassador to Egypt (1991-1993); U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia (1987-1991)  
Thomas W. Simons Jr. (B.A. 1958) – U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan (1996-1998); U.S. Ambassador to Poland (1990-1993)  
Frederick Vreeland (B.A. 1951) – U.S. Ambassador to Morocco (1992-1993); Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (1991-1992)  
\*James R. Lilley (B.A. 1951) – U.S. Ambassador to Communist China (1989-1991); Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (1991-1993)  
\*Bruce S. Gelb (B.A. 1950) – U.S. Ambassador to Belgium (1991-1993); Director of U.S. Information Agency (1989-1991)  
Raymond G.H. Seitz (B.A. 1963) – U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain (1991-1994)  
\*Walter J.P. Curley Jr. (B.A. 1944) – U.S. Ambassador to France (1989-1993)  
C. Howard Wilkins Jr. (B.A. 1960) – U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands (1989-1992)  
Edward M. Rowell (B.A. 1953) – U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg (1990-1994); U.S. Ambassador to Portugal (1988-1990)  
Derek Shearer (B.A. 1968) – U.S. Ambassador to Finland (1994-1997)  
\*Richard F. Celeste (B.A. 1959, RS) – U.S. Ambassador to India (1997-2001)  
Curtis W. Kamman (B.A. 1959) – U.S. Ambassador to Chile (1992-1994); U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia (1994-1997); U.S. Ambassador to Colombia (1998-2000)  
Donald B. Ensenat (B.A. 1968) – U.S. Ambassador to Brunei (1992-1993)  
Paul Matthews Cleveland (B.A. 1953) – U.S. Ambassador to Malaysia (1989-1992)  
Robert D. Orr (B.A. 1940, S&K 1940) – U.S. Ambassador to Singapore (1989-1992)  
Daniel H. Simpson (B.A. 1961) – U.S. Ambassador to Congo [Zaire] (1995-1998); U.S. Ambassador to Central African Republic (1990-1992)  
John Marshall Evans (B.A. 1970) – U.S. Consul General in St. Petersburg, Russia (1994-1997)
- John M. Walker Jr. (B.A. 1962) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (1989-2006); Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (2000-2006); George H.W. Bush's cousin  
George Cheney Pratt (B.A. 1950, J.D. 1953) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (1982-1993)  
Guido Calabresi (B.S. 1953, LL.B. 1958, RS) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (1994-2009)  
Richard Sheppard Arnold (B.A. 1957) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit (1980-2001)  
Richard A. Posner (B.A. 1959) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit (1981-present); Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit (1993-2000)  
\*James L. Buckley (B.A. 1944, LL.B. 1949, S&B 1944) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit (1985-1996)  
Stephen Fain Williams (B.A. 1958) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for District of Columbia Circuit (1986-2001)  
Glenn Leroy Archer Jr. (B.A. 1951) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit (1985-1997)  
Raymond Charles Clevenger III (B.A. 1959) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit (1990-2006)
- Charles Sherman Haight Jr. (B.A. 1952, S&B 1952) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York (1976-1995)  
Peter K. Leisure (B.A. 1952) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York (1984-1997)  
Louis Lee Stanton (B.A. 1950) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York (1985-1996)  
\*Barrington D. Parker Jr. (B.A. 1965, LL.B. 1969) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York (1994-2001)  
Thomas Collier Platt Jr. (B.A. 1947) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York (1974-2001); Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York (1988-1995)  
Joseph Edward Stevens Jr. (B.A. 1949) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Missouri (1981-1995); Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri (1981-1995)

William Lloyd Standish (B.A. 1953) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania (1987-2002)  
John C. Lifland (B.A. 1954) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of New Jersey (1988-2001)  
J. Spencer Letts (B.A. 1956) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California (1985-2000)  
George Kendall Sharp (B.A. 1957) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Florida (1983-2000)  
William Charles Lee (B.A. 1959) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Indiana (1981-2003); Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Indiana (1997-2003)  
John G. Murtha (B.A. 1963) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Vermont (1995-2009); Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Vermont (1995-2002)  
Allen Joe Fish (B.A. 1965; LL.B. 1968) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas (1983-2007)  
John W. Lungstrum (B.A. 1967) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Kansas (1991-present)  
Mark Lawrence Wolf (B.A. 1968) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts (1985-2013)  
Myron Herbert Thompson (B.A. 1969, J.D. 1972) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Alabama (1980-present); Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Alabama (1991-1998)  
Douglas P. Woodlock (B.A. 1969, S&B 1969) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts (1986-present)  
Carlos R. Moreno (B.A. 1970) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California (1998-2001)  
Denise Page Hood (B.A. 1974) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan (1994-present)  
Jack B. Schmetterer (B.A. 1952; J.D. 1955) – Judge of the U.S. Bankruptcy Court for the Northern District of Illinois [Chicago] (1985-present)

James Edgar Baker (B.A. 1982, J.D. 1990) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces (2000-present); Legal Adviser to the President of the U.S. (1997-2000); Deputy Legal Adviser for the National Security Council (1994-1997); Attorney adviser on Law Enforcement and Intelligence for the U.S. Department of State (1990-1993)  
\*Dick Thornburgh (B.E. 1954) – U.S. Attorney General (1988-1991); United Nations Undersecretary-General for Administration and Management (1992-1993)  
Philip B. Heymann (B.A. 1954, S&K 1954) – Deputy U.S. Attorney General (1993-1994)  
Paul Edward Coggins (B.A. 1973, RS) – U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Texas (1993-2001)  
\*Charles Nicholas Rostow (B.A. 1972, Ph.D. 1979, J.D. 1982) – Special Assistant to the President of the U.S. (1987-1993); General Counsel of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations (2001-2005); member of the Royal Institute for International Affairs  
John D. Hawke Jr. (B.A. 1954) – Comptroller of the Currency (1998-2004); Under Sec. of the Treasury for Domestic Finances (1995-1998)  
\*William K. Reilly (B.A. 1962) – Administrator of Environmental Protection Agency (1989-1993)  
Reed Hundt (B.A. 1969, J.D. 1974) – Chairman of Federal Communications Commission (1993-1997)  
Andrew J. Pincus (B.A. 1977) – General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Commerce (1997-2000)  
Kenneth N. Weinstein (B.A. 1968; J.D. 1974) – Assistant Chief Counsel for Litigation of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) (1988-1997); NHTSA Associate Administrator for Enforcement (1997-2005)

\* John H. Chafee (B.A. 1947, S&B 1947) – U.S. Senator (Republican Party-Rhode Island, 1976-1999)  
\* John Forbes Kerry (B.A. 1966, S&B 1966) – U.S. Senator (Democratic Party-Massachusetts, 1985-2013)  
\* Joseph Lieberman (B.A. 1964, J.D. 1967) – U.S. Senator (Democratic Party-Connecticut, 1989-2013)  
James M. Jeffords (B.S. 1956) – U.S. Senator (Republican Party-Vermont, 1989-2007)  
John D. Ashcroft (B.A. 1964) – U.S. Senator (Republican Party-Missouri, 1993-2001); Governor of Missouri (1985-1993)

Gerry Eastman Studds (B.A. 1959) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Massachusetts, 1973-1997)  
Raymond Hoyt Thornton Jr. (B.A. 1950) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Arkansas, 1973-1979, 1991-1997)  
Willis David Gradison, Jr. (B.A. 1949) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Ohio, 1975-1993)  
Andrew P. “Andy” Ireland (B.S. 1952) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D/R-Florida, 1977-1993)  
Clarence William “Bill” Nelson (B.A. 1965) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Florida, 1979-1991)  
Ben Erdreich (B.A. 1960) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Alabama, 1983-1993)  
John Jacob Rhodes III (B.A. 1965) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Arizona, 1987-1993)  
\*Porter J. Goss (B.A. 1960) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Florida, 1989-2004)  
Richard Swett (B.A. 1979) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-NH, 1991-1995); U.S. Ambassador to Denmark (1998-2001)  
Richard Zimmer (B.A. 1966; L.L.B. 1969) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-New Jersey, 1991-1997)  
Gary A. Franks (B.A. 1975) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Connecticut, 1991-1997)  
Sherrod Brown (B.A. 1974) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Ohio, 1993-2007)  
Lamar S. Smith (B.A. 1969) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Texas, 1987-present)  
Sheila Jackson-Lee (B.A. 1972) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Texas, 1995-present)

George W. Bush (B.A. 1968, S&B 1968) – Governor of Texas (1995-2000)  
Gary Locke (B.A. 1972) – Governor of Washington (1997-2005)  
Bob Taft (B.A. 1963) – Governor of Ohio (1999-2007); Secretary of State of Ohio (1991-1999)  
Tony Knowles (B.A. 1968) – Governor of Alaska (1994-2002)  
Pete Wilson (B.A. 1956) – Governor of California (1991-1999)  
Kurt L. Schmoke (B.A. 1971) – Mayor of Baltimore, Maryland (1987-1999)  
Victor H. Ashe (B.A. 1967, S&B 1967) – Mayor of Knoxville, Tennessee (1987-2003)  
George B. Daniels (B.A. 1975) – Counsel to the Mayor of New York City (1990-1993); Judge of the Criminal Court of the City of New York (1989-1990, 1993-1995); Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York (1995-2000)  
Clarence William “Bill” Nelson (B.A. 1965) – Treasurer, Insurance Commissioner, and Fire Marshal of Florida (Jan. 3, 1995–Jan. 1, 2000)

#### Businessmen:

\*John F. Akers (B.S. 1956) – Chairman and CEO of International Business Machines Corp. (IBM) (1986-1993)  
Robert Cushing Winters (B.A. 1953) – Chairman and CEO of Prudential Insurance Co. of America (1987-1994)  
Edward J. Morton (B.A. 1949) – Chairman and CEO of John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. (1987-1991)  
\*William H. “Bill” Donaldson (B.A. 1953, S&B 1953) – Chairman of the board of New York Stock Exchange (1991-1995); Chairman and CEO of Aetna Insurance Co. (2000-2001); Chairman of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1999-2003)

\*Henry B. Schacht (B.S. 1956) – Chairman and CEO of Cummins Engine Co., Inc. (1977-1995); Chairman of Lucent Technologies (1995-1997, 2000-2002)  
Russell W. Meyer Jr. (B.A. 1954, S&B 1954) – Chairman and CEO of Cessna Aircraft Co. (1975-2000, 2002-2003)  
\*John D. Macomber (B.A. 1950) – Chmn. and CEO of Celanese Corp. (1980-1987); Chmn. and Pres. of Export-Import Bank of U.S. (1989-92)  
Louis Gordon Lower, II (B.A. 1967) – President of Allstate Life Insurance Co. (1990-c.1997)  
Stephen F. Gates (B.A. 1968) – Vice President and General Counsel of Amoco Corp. (1995-1998); Executive Vice President of BP Amoco (1999-2000)  
\*Lawrence C. McQuade (B.A. 1950, RS) – Vice Chairman of Prudential Mutual Fund Management, Inc. (1988-1995); Chairman of Qualitas International (1995-2005)  
\*Thomas B. Ross (B.A. 1951, S&B 1951) – Senior Vice President of NBC News (1986-1990); Senior Vice President of Hill and Knowlton (1990-1994); Vice President for Government Relations of Loral Space and Communications (1995-2003)  
\*Richard L. Gelb (B.A. 1945) – Chairman and CEO of Bristol-Myers Co. (1976-1994)  
Kenneth L. Wolfe (B.A. 1961) – Chairman and CEO of Hershey Chocolate Co. (1994-2001)  
John E. Pepper Jr. (B.A. 1960) – Chairman of the board of The Walt Disney Co. (2007-2012); Chairman of the board of Proctor & Gamble Co. (1995-2002); President of Proctor & Gamble Co. (1986-1995)  
Thomas B. Wheeler (B.A. 1958, S&B 1958) – President and CEO of Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co. (1988-1999); Chairman and CEO of Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co. (1996-1999)  
John C. Waddell (B.A. 1959) – Chairman of the board of Arrow Electronics, Inc. (1980-1994)  
Thomas James Skutt (B.A. 1952) – Chairman and CEO of Mutual of Omaha Insurance Co. [Nebraska] (1986-1996)  
Vernon R. Loucks Jr. (B.A. 1957, S&B 1957) – Chairman and CEO of Baxter International Inc. [health care company] (1987-1998)  
Gerald Grinstein (B.A. 1954) – Chairman (1997-1999) CEO (2004-2007) of Delta Air Lines Inc.; Chairman and CEO of Burlington Northern Railroad Co. (1990-1995)  
John C. Pope (B.S. 1971) – President of United Airlines Corporation (1992-1994); Vice Chairman of United Airlines Inc. (1989-1992)  
James S. Chanos (B.A. 1980) – Founder and President of Kynikos Associates [hedge fund investment company] (1985-present)  
David D. Holbrook (B.A. 1960, S&B 1960) – Chairman (1995-98), President (1988-1994), and Co-CEO (1992-94) of Marsh & McLennan, Inc.  
\*Joseph Peter Grace, Jr. (B.A. 1936, S&K 1936) – Chairman and CEO of W.R. Grace & Co. (1981-1992)  
Arthur John Peck Jr. (B.A. 1962) – Assistant Secretary of Corning, Inc. (1981-1998); Secretary and Vice President of Corning, Inc. (1998-?)  
\*L. Paul Bremer III (B.A. 1963) – Managing Director of Kissinger Associates (1989-2000)  
W. James (Jim) McNerney, Jr. (B.A. 1971) – President of General Electric Asia-Pacific [Hong Kong] (1993-1995); President and CEO of General Electric (GE) Aircraft Engines [Cincinnati] (1997-2000)

#### Bankers:

David W. Mullins Jr. (B.S. 1968) – Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve (1991-1994); Member of the Federal Reserve Board (1990-1994)  
Laurence H. Meyer (B.A. 1965) – Member of the Federal Reserve Board (1996-2002)  
\*Cyrus R. Vance (B.A. 1939, LL.B. 1942, S&K 1939) – Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1989-1991)  
Douglas A. Warner III (B.A. 1968) – Chairman and CEO of J.P. Morgan & Co. (1995-2000); President of J.P. Morgan & Co. (1990-2000); Chairman of JP Morgan Chase & Co. (2000-2001)  
Robert F. Greenhill (B.A. 1958) – President of Morgan Stanley (1991-1993); Vice Chairman of Morgan Stanley (1989-1991)  
David C. Clapp (B.A. 1960) – Partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co. (1978-1994)  
Joseph H. Gleberman (B.A. 1980) – Partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co. (1990-2011)  
Granger Kent Costikyan (B.A. 1929, S&B 1929) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1969-1998)  
\*Robert L. Ireland III (B.A. 1942) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1960-c.1994)  
Laurence Frederick Whittemore (B.A. 1951) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1974-2003)  
\*Alexander T. Ercklentz (B.A. 1959, S&B 1959) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1978-present)  
George Harold Pfau Jr. (B.S. 1948, S&B 1948) – Senior Vice President of Paine Webber [acquired by UBS] (1979-c.2004)  
Wilbur Louis Ross Jr. (B.A. 1959) – Senior Managing Director of Rothschild, Inc. (1976-2000)  
Raymond Jacob Albright (B.A. 1951, S&K 1951) – Vice President of Export-Import Bank of the U.S. (1973-1992); Senior Vice President of Export-Import Bank of the U.S. (1992-1995)  
\*Jay Hartley Newman (B.A. 1973) – Managing Director of Morgan Stanley & Co. (1990-1993); Managing Director of Dillon Read & Co. (1988-1990); Vice President of Lehman Brothers (1983-1985)  
Charles B. Johnson (B.A. 1954) – Chairman of the board of Franklin Resources, Inc. [now called Franklin Templeton Investments] (1969-pres.)  
Herbert M. Allison Jr. (B.A. 1965) – Senior Vice President (1986-1993) and President (1997-1999) of Merrill Lynch & Co.  
\*Stephen A. Schwarzman (B.A. 1969, S&B 1969) – Chairman and CEO of The Blackstone Group (1985-present)  
William M. Crozier Jr. (B.A. 1954) – Chairman and CEO of BayBanks, Inc. [bank in Boston] (1974-1996)

#### Journalists:

\*Jeffrey L. Bewkes (B.A. 1974) – Chairman and CEO of Home Box Office (HBO) (1995-2002)  
\*David R. Gergen (B.A. 1963) – CNN political analyst; Counselor to the President of the U.S. (1993-1994)  
\*Paul E. Steiger (B.A. 1964) – Managing Editor of *Wall Street Journal* (1991-2007)  
Robert Greeley Kaiser (B.A. 1964) – Managing Editor of *The Washington Post* (1991-1998); Associate Editor, *The Washington Post* (1998-pr.)  
Robert U. "Bob" Woodward (B.A. 1965) – *Washington Post* reporter (1971-present) and best-selling author  
Eric Dwight Pace (B.A. 1957) – Member of the staff of *The New York Times* (1965-2004)  
\*Fareed Zakaria (B.A. 1986, S&K 1986) – Editor of Newsweek International; Director of Council on Foreign Relations (2004-present)  
\*James F. Hoge Jr. (B.A. 1958) – Editor of *Foreign Affairs* magazine (1992-2010); President of *New York Daily News* (1985-1991)  
\*David A. Laventhal (B.A. 1957) – Publisher and CEO of *The Los Angeles Times* (1989-1993)  
\*William F. Buckley Jr. (B.A. 1950, S&B 1950) – Editor-at-Large of *National Review* magazine (1991-2004)  
\*Robert B. Semple Jr. (B.A. 1959) – Associate Editor of the Editorial Page of *The New York Times* (1988-present); Op-Ed Page Editor of *The New York Times* (1982-1988)  
\*Hugh D.S. Greenway (B.A. 1958, S&K 1958) – Associate Editor of *The Boston Globe* (1978-1993); Editorial Page Editor of *The Boston Globe* (1994-2000); Foreign Affairs Columnist for *The Boston Globe* (2000-present)  
\*Robert W. Kagan (B.A. 1980, S&B 1980) – Columnist for *The Washington Post*; Co-Founder of the Project for the New American Century  
Dana T. Milbank (B.A. 1990, S&B 1990) – Columnist for *The Washington Post*

\*Paul Krugman (B.A. 1974) – Op-Ed Columnist for *The New York Times* (1999-present)  
Scott C. Smith (B.A. 1973) – Senior Vice President of Tribune Co. (1989-1993); President, Publisher, and CEO of Chicago Tribune Co. (1997-2004, 2006-2008)  
James H. Ottaway Jr. (B.A. 1960) – Senior Vice President of Dow Jones & Co. (1986-2003)  
\*Margaret G. Warner (B.A. 1971) – PBS journalist  
\*Strobe Talbott (B.A. 1968, RS) – Editor-at-Large (and Foreign Affairs Columnist) for *Time* magazine (1989-1993); Director of Council on Foreign Relations (1988-1993)

#### Organization Executives:

\*William H. Draper III (B.A. 1950, S&B 1950) – Administrator of United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] (1986-1993)  
\*Roger D. Stone (B.A. 1955) – President of Sustainable Development Institute (1993-present)  
\*George N. Lindsay (B.A. 1941) – Trustee of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1981-1991)  
\*James Gustave Speth (B.A. 1964, RS) – Administrator of United Nations Development Program (1993-1999)  
\*Carl Gershman (B.A. 1965) – President of the National Endowment for Democracy (1984-present)  
\*Jonathan F. Fanton (B.A. 1965) – Chairman of the board of Human Rights Watch (1998-2003); President of John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (1999-2009)  
Dawn Johnson (B.A. 1983; J.D. 1986) – Legal Director of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) (1988-1993); Deputy Assistant U.S. Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel (1993-1996)

#### College Administrators and Professors:

\*Benno C. Schmidt Jr. (B.A. 1963) – President of Yale University (1986-1992)  
George Dennis O'Brien (B.A. 1952, Ph.D. Univ. of Chicago 1961) – President of University of Rochester [New York] (1984-1994)  
\*Edward T. Foote II (B.A. 1959) – President of the University of Miami [Florida] (1981-2001)  
\*David L. Boren (B.A. 1963, S&B 1963, RS) – President of University of Oklahoma (1994-present); U.S. Senator (D-Oklahoma, 1979-1994)  
Dale T. Knobel (B.A. 1971) – President of Denison University (1998-2013)  
Steven Knapp (B.A. 1973) – Provost of Johns Hopkins University (1996-2007)  
Avi Soifer (B.A. 1969, J.D. 1972) – Dean of Boston College Law School (1993-1998)  
Lance Liebman (B.A. 1962) – Dean of Columbia Law School (1991-1996); William S. Beinecke Professor of Law at Columbia Law School (1998-present)

Robert J. Sternberg (B.A. 1972) – IBM Professor of Psychology and Education at Yale University (1986-2005)  
\*Samuel P. Huntington (B.A. 1946) – Professor of Government at Harvard University (1962-2008)  
\*Rashid I. Khalidi (B.A. 1970) – Professor of Middle East History at University of Chicago (1987-2003)  
\*Paul Krugman (B.A. 1974) – Professor of Economics and International Affairs at Princeton University (2000-present)  
\*Michael Mandelbaum (B.A. 1968) – Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (1990-present)  
Akhil Reed Amar (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1984) – Sterling Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1993-present)  
Reva Siegel (B.A. 1978; J.D. 1986) – Nicholas deB. Katzenbach Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1999-present)  
James Q. Whitman (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1988) – Ford Foundation Professor of Comparative and Foreign Law at Yale Law School (1996-present)  
Alvin C. Warren (B.A. 1966) – Professor of Law at Harvard Law School (1980-present)  
Jeffrey N. Gordon (B.A. 1971) – Alfred W. Bressler Professor of Law at Columbia Law School (1998-present)  
Brian C. Murchison (B.A. 1974, J.D. 1979, S&B 1974) – Professor of Law at Washington and Lee University School of Law (1990-present)  
\*James C. Thomson, Jr. (B.A. 1953, S&K 1953) – Professor of Journalism at Boston University (1984-1997)  
\*Marvin Zonis (B.A. 1958) – Professor of Behavioral Sciences at the University of Chicago (1989-present)  
Bert Franklin Green Jr. (B.A. 1949) – Professor of Psychology at Johns Hopkins University (1969-1998)  
Steven E. Hyman (B.A. 1974) – Professor of Neurobiology at Harvard Medical School; Director of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) (1996-2001)

#### Lawyers:

\*Cyrus R. Vance (B.A. 1939, LL.B. 1942, S&K 1939) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1956-1961, 1967-1977, 1980-1998)  
\*William Eldred Jackson (B.A. 1941, S&B 1941) – Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1954-1999); Vice Chairman of International Court of Arbitration (1988-1994)  
\*George N. Lindsay (B.A. 1941) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1955-1990); Of Counsel of Debevoise & Plimpton (1991-1993)  
\*Robert B. von Mehren (B.A. 1943) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1957-1993)  
\*William B. Matteson (B.A. 1950) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1961-1998)  
George B. Adams (B.A. 1952) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1966-1997); Of Counsel of Debevoise & Plimpton (1998-present); Chairman of the corporate department of Debevoise & Plimpton (1988-1993); Director of Lawyer's Alliance for World Security (1989-1998)  
James C. Goodale (B.A. 1955) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1980-1993)  
\*David W. Rivkin (B.A. 1977; J.D. 1980) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1988-present)  
Michael W. Blair (B.A. 1977) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1989-present)  
\*Eli Whitney Debevoise II (B.A. 1974) – Partner of Arnold & Porter (1979-2007)  
Steven Lewis Friedman (B.A. 1968) – General Counsel in the United States for the Likud Party of Israel (1988-1999); Partner of Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish and Kauffman [law firm in Philadelphia] (1976-2005)  
William F. Kroener III (B.A. 1967) – General Counsel of FDIC (1995-2006); Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1979-1994)  
Edward Snover Reid III (B.A. 1951, S&B 1951) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1964-1995)  
Robert B. Fiske, Jr. (B.A. 1952) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1964-2010)  
Jonathan M. Clark (B.A. 1959) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1971-1993); General Counsel of Morgan Stanley & Co., Inc. (1993-1997)  
Donaldson Clark Pillsbury (B.A. 1962, LL.B. 1967, S&K 1962) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1972-1993)  
Guy Miller Struve (B.A. 1963, LL.B. Harvard 1966) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1973-2013)  
Bradley Y. Smith (B.A. 1970) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1980-2013)  
Patrick S. Kenadjian (B.A. 1970) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1984-2010)  
D. Scott Wise (B.A. 1974) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1987-2011)

Paul W. Bartel, II (B.A. 1975) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1988-2010)  
John M. Brandow (B.A. 1975) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1989-present)  
Danforth Townley (B.A. 1979; J.D. 1985) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1994-present)  
Mario J. Verdolini (B.A. 1985) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1997-present)  
Harry Ballan (B.A. 1981; Ph.D. 1986) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1999-present)  
Daniel G. Kelly, Jr. (B.A. 1973) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1999-present)  
Stephen K. West (B.A. 1950) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell [law firm in New York City] (1964-1997)  
Michael M. Maney (B.A. 1956) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1971-2003); Senior Counsel of Sullivan & Cromwell (2003-present)  
Willard B. Taylor (B.A. 1962; LL.B. 1965) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1972-2007)  
Richard R. Howe (B.A. 1964) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1974-2009)  
Richard G. Asthalter (B.A. 1966; J.D. 1971) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1980-2008)  
John T. Bostelman (B.A. 1975) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1986-2009)  
\*James H. Carter (B.A. 1965; LL.B. 1969) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1977-2010)  
Richard J. Urowsky (B.A. 1967; J.D. 1972) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1980-2014)  
Gandolfo V. DiBlasi (B.A. 1975; J.D. 1978) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1985-present)  
David F. Morrison (B.A. 1974) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1986-present)  
Robert S. Risoleo (B.A. 1980; J.D. 1984) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1992-present)  
Gregory A. Weiss (B.A. 1966) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1976-present)  
Glenn M. Reiter (B.A. 1973; J.D. 1976) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1984-present)  
Sarah E. Cogan (B.A. 1978) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1989-present)  
David A. Sneider (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1994-present)  
Roger J. Baneman (B.A. 1972) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling (1985-present)  
Antonia E. Stolper (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling  
Michael J. Kennedy (B.A. 1981) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling  
Thomas B. Wilner (B.A. 1966) – Of Counsel of Shearman & Sterling  
\*Clark T. Randt Jr. (B.A. 1968) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling in Hong Kong (1991-2001)  
Robert S. Rifkind (B.A. 1958) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (1971-2001)  
Rory O. Millson (B.A. 1973; J.D. 1977, B.A. Oxford 1975 (S. African Rhodes Scholar)) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (1984-present)  
Scott A. Edelman (B.A. Yale; M.A. Yale) – Partner (and Vice Chairman) of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1995-present)  
Andrew E. Tomback (B.A. Yale, J.D. Yale) – Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1996-present)  
\*Alfred D. Youngwood (B.A. 1959) – Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1970-2008)  
\*Toby S. Myerson (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1983-1989, 1990-present)  
\*Jerome A. Cohen (B.A. 1951; J.D. 1955) – Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1981-2000); Of Counsel of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (2000-present); Professor of Law at New York University School of Law (1990-present)  
Charles R. Walker III (B.A. 1951, LL.B. 1954) – Member of Lord, Day & Lord [law firm in New York City] (1956-1994)  
Charles H. Critchlow (B.A. 1972) – Partner of Coudert Brothers [law firm in New York City] (1986-2005)  
Donald Schapiro (B.A. 1944; LL.B. 1949) – Partner of Chadbourne & Parke [law firm in New York City] (1988-present)  
Robert William Brundige Jr. (B.A. 1966) – Partner of Hughes, Hubbard & Reed [law firm in New York City] (1987-present)  
John M. Townsend (B.A. 1968, J.D., 1971) – Partner and Co-Chair of Hughes, Hubbard & Reed [law firm in New York City]  
Scott J. Davis (B.A. 1972) – Partner of Mayer Brown [Chicago] (1983-present)  
R. Quincy White (B.A. 1954) – Partner of Sidley & Austin [Chicago] (1973-1993)  
David Alan Richards (B.A. 1967, J.D. 1972, S&B 1967) – Partner of Sidley & Austin [law firm in Chicago and New York City] (1983-2000); Partner of McCarter & English [law firm in New York City] (2001-present)  
Donald Etra (B.A. 1968, S&B 1968) – Partner of Sidley & Austin [law firm in Chicago and Los Angeles] (1983-1995); Head of *Law Offices of Donald Etra* in Los Angeles (1995-present)  
Robert Howard Wellen (B.A. 1968; J.D. 1971) – Partner of Fulbright & Jaworski [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1979-1993)  
Jonathan C. Rose (B.A. 1963, S&B 1963) – Partner of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue [Washington, D.C.] (1977-1981, 1984-present)  
H. Stewart Dunn Jr. (B.A. 1951) – Partner of Ivins, Phillips & Barker [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1962-c.2002)  
Allen C. Goolsby (B.A. 1961) – Partner of Hunton & Williams [Richmond, Virginia] (1975-present)  
Andrea Bear Field (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Hunton & Williams [Washington, D.C.] (1991-present)  
Kell Marsh Damsgaard (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Morgan, Lewis & Bockius [Philadelphia] (1981-present)  
Robert L. Abramowitz (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Morgan, Lewis & Bockius [Philadelphia] (1990-present)  
Gene J. Oshman (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1983) – Partner of Baker Botts [Houston, Texas] (1990-present)  
J. David Kirkland Jr. (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1983) – Partner of Baker Botts [Houston, Texas]  
James F. Kirkham (B.A. 1954) – Partner of Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro [law firm in San Francisco] (1966-c.1996); member of Bohemian Club  
Peter R. Taft (B.A. 1958; LL.B., 1961, S&K 1958) – Partner of Munger, Tolles & Olson [Los Angeles] (1969-present)  
George Denegre (B.A. 1943) – Partner of Jones, Walker, Weachter, Poievent, Carrere & Denegre [law firm in New Orleans] (1952-2008)  
David Allan Gates (B.A. 1969) – Partner of Mitchell, Williams, Selig, Gates & Woodyard [law firm in Little Rock, Arkansas] (1979-c. 1995)  
Robert Hastings Nichols (B.A. 1963) – Partner of Cotton, Watt, Jones & King [Chicago] (1967-1995); Senior Attorney and Coordinator for United Airlines Master Executive Council, Air Line Pilots Association, International AFL-CIO (1995-c.2007)  
Roderick A. Palmore (B.A. 1974) – General Counsel and Secretary of Sara Lee Corp. (1999-2008); Senior Vice President and General Counsel of Sara Lee Corp. (1999-2004); Partner of Wildman, Harrold, Allen & Dixon [Chicago] (1986-1993)  
Michael David Hess (B.A. 1962, J.D. Harvard 1965) – Senior Partner of White & Case [law firm in New York City] (1986-1993); Senior Partner of Chadbourne & Parke [law firm in New York City] (1993-1998); Chairman of the board of trustees of Horace Mann School in Bronx, New York City (1994-2001); Chief of civil division , Office of the U.S. Attorney [for the Southern District of New York] in New York City (1966-1973)

Note: \*=Member of the Council on Foreign Relations; RS = Rhodes Scholar; S&B = Skull & Bones; S&K = Scroll & Key

Note: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit is located in New York City. The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York is located in New York City. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit is located in Chicago.

Government Officials:

George W. Bush (B.A. 1968, S&B 1968) – President of the United States (January 20, 2001-January 20, 2009)

John D. Ashcroft (B.A. 1964) – U.S. Attorney General (February 2, 2001-February 3, 2005)

\*L. Paul Bremer III (B.A. 1963) – Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority of Iraq (May 12, 2003-June 28, 2004)

\*Porter J. Goss (B.A. 1960) – Director of Central Intelligence Agency (2004-2006); U.S. Congressman (Republican-Florida, 1989-2004)

\*William H. Donaldson (B.A. 1953, S&B 1953) – Chairman of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (Feb. 18, 2003-June 30, 2005)

Mark W. Everson (B.A. 1976) – Commissioner of Internal Revenue Service (May 1, 2003-May 28, 2007); President of American Red Cross (May 29, 2007-November 27, 2007)

Ellen L. Weintraub (B.A. 1978) – Commissioner of Federal Election Commission (2002-present); Chairman of FEC (2002-2003)

John D. Hawke Jr. (B.A. 1954) – Comptroller of the Currency (1998-2004); Under Secretary of the Treasury for Domestic Finances (1995-1998); Partner of Arnold & Porter [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (2004-present)

\*Emil W. Henry Jr. (B.A. 1983) – Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Financial Institutions (2005-2009)

Thomas O. Barnett (B.A. 1985) – Assistant U.S. Attorney General for the Antitrust Division (2005-2008)

\*John D. Negroponte (B.A. 1960) – U.S. Representative to the United Nations (September 18, 2001-June 23, 2004); U.S. Ambassador to Iraq (June 28, 2004-March 17, 2005); Director of National Intelligence (April 21, 2005-February 13, 2007); Deputy U.S. Secretary of State (February 13, 2007-January 20, 2009)

\*John R. Bolton (B.A. 1970; J.D. 1974) – U.S. Representative to the United Nations (August 1, 2005-December 9, 2006); Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs (May 11, 2001-July 31, 2005)

\*Lewis Libby (B.A. 1972) – Chief of Staff to the Vice President of the U.S. [Dick Cheney] (2001-2005), principal figure in the Plame Affair

\*William H. Taft IV (B.A. 1966) – Legal Adviser of the U.S. Department of State (2001-2005)

\*Clark T. Randt Jr. (B.A. 1968) – U.S. Ambassador to Communist China (2001-2009); Partner of Shearman & Sterling law firm in Hong Kong (1991-2001)

Robert D. McCallum Jr. (B.A. 1968, S&B 1968, RS) – U.S. Ambassador to Australia (2006-2009); Associate U.S. Attorney General (2003-06)

George Herbert Walker III (B.A. 1953, S&B 1953) – U.S. Ambassador to Hungary (2003-2006)

Victor Ashe (B.A. 1967, S&B 1967) – U.S. Ambassador to Poland (2004-2009)

David H. Thorne (B.A. 1966, S&B 1966) – U.S. Ambassador to Italy (2009-2013)

Charles H. Rivkin (B.A. 1984) – U.S. Ambassador to France (2009-2013)

David N. Greenlee (B.A. 1965?) – U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia (2003-2006); U.S. Ambassador to Paraguay (2000-2003)

Stephen G. McFarland (B.A. 1976) – U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala (2008-2011); Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy in Venezuela 2003-2005

Grover Joseph Rees III (B.A. 1973?) – U.S. Ambassador to East Timor (2002-2006)

John Marshall Evans (B.A. 1970) – U.S. Ambassador to Armenia (2004-2006); U.S. Consul General in St. Petersburg, Russia (1994-1997)

J. Adam Ereli (B.A. 1982) – U.S. Ambassador to Bahrain (2007-2011)

Gordon Gray III (B.A. 1978) – U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia (2009-2012); Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Egypt (2002-2005); Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs (2005-2008)

Paul E. Simons (B.A. Yale) – U.S. Ambassador to Chile (2007-2010); former Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv, Israel  
Donald B. Ensenat (B.A. 1968) – U.S. Chief of Protocol (2001-2007)

\*Alexander R. Vershbow (B.A. 1974) – U.S. Ambassador to Russia (2001-2005); U.S. Ambassador to South Korea (2005-2008); Assistant U.S. Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (2009-2011); Deputy Secretary-General of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (2012-present)

Gary Locke (B.A. 1972) – U.S. Ambassador to Communist China (2011-2014); U.S. Secretary of Commerce (2009-2011); Governor of Washington (1997-2005)

\*Ashton B. Carter (B.A. 1976, RS) – Under U.S. Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics (2009-2011); Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense (2011-2013)

\*Stephen W. Preston (B.A. 1979) – General Counsel of the Central Intelligence Agency (2009-2013); General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Defense (2013-present)

\*Reuben Jeffery III (B.A. 1975) – Chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (2005-2007); Under Secretary of State for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs (2007-2009); Executive Director of the Coalition Provisional Authority Office (CPA) [Iraq] at the Pentagon (2003); Managing Partner of Goldman Sachs in Paris, France (1997-2001)

\*Neal S. Wolin (B.A. 1983, J.D. 1988) – Deputy U.S. Secretary of the Treasury (2009-2013)

\*Kenneth M. Pollack (B.A. 1988) – Iran-Iraq Military Analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency (1988-1995); Director for Persian Gulf Affairs at the National Security Council (1999-2001); Director for National Security Studies at Council on Foreign Relations (2001-2002)

\*Joseph Verner Reed Jr. (B.A. 1961) – Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations (1992-present)

Austan Goolsbee (B.A. 1991; S&B 1991) – Member (2009-2011) and Chairman (2010-2011) of the Council of Economic Advisers

Jay Carney (B.A. 1987) – White House Press Secretary (2011-2014)

John M. Walker Jr. (B.A. 1962) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (1989-2006); Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (2000-2006); George H.W. Bush's cousin

Guido Calabresi (B.S. 1953, LL.B. 1958, RS) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (1994-2009)

\*Barrington D. Parker Jr. (B.A. 1965, LL.B. 1969) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (2001-present); Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York (1994-2001)

Richard A. Posner (B.A. 1959) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit (1981-present)

Brett M. Kavanaugh (B.A. 1987) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for District of Columbia Circuit (2006-present)

Raymond Charles Clevenger III (B.A. 1959) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit (1990-2006)

George B. Daniels (B.A. 1975) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York (2000-present)

William Lloyd Standish (B.A. 1953) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania (1987-2002)

William Charles Lee (B.A. 1959) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Indiana (1981-2003); Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Indiana (1997-2003)  
James Knoll Gardner (B.A. 1962) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania (2002-present)  
John G. Murtha (B.A. 1963) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Vermont (1995-2009); Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Vermont (1995-2002)  
Allen Joe Fish (B.A. 1965; LL.B. 1968) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas (1983-2007); Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas (2002-2007)  
John W. Lungstrum (B.A. 1967) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Kansas (1991-present); Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Kansas (2001-2007)  
Mark Lawrence Wolf (B.A. 1968) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts (1985-2013); Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts (2006-2013)  
Myron Herbert Thompson (B.A. 1969, J.D. 1972) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Alabama (1980-present)  
Douglas P. Woodlock (B.A. 1969, S&B 1969) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts (1986-present)  
Denise Page Hood (B.A. 1974) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan (1994-present)  
Dora L. Irizarry (B.A. 1976) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York (2004-present)  
James O. Browning (B.A. 1978) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of New Mexico (2003-present)  
Robert Michael Dow Jr. (B.A. 1987) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois (2007-present)  
Jack B. Schmetterer (B.A. 1952; J.D. 1955) – Judge of the U.S. Bankruptcy Court for the Northern District of Illinois [Chicago] (1985-present)  
James Edgar Baker (B.A. 1982, J.D. 1990) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces (2000-present)

\*Charles Nicholas Rostow (B.A. 1972, Ph.D. 1979, J.D. 1982) – Special Assistant to the President of the U.S. (1987-1993); General Counsel of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations (2001-2005); member of the Royal Institute for International Affairs  
Kenneth N. Weinstein (B.A. 1968; J.D. 1974) – Assistant Chief Counsel for Litigation of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) (1988-1997); NHTSA Associate Administrator for Enforcement (1997-2005)

\*John Forbes Kerry (B.A. 1966, S&B 1966) – U.S. Senator (D-Massachusetts, 1985-2013); U.S. Secretary of State (2013-present)  
\*Joseph Lieberman (B.A. 1964, J.D. 1967) – U.S. Senator (D-Connecticut, 1989-2013)  
Mark Dayton (B.A. 1969) – U.S. Senator (D-Minnesota, 2001-2007); Governor of Minnesota (2011-present)  
James M. Jeffords (B.S. 1956) – U.S. Senator (I-Vermont, 1989-2007)  
Clarence William "Bill" Nelson (B.A. 1965) – U.S. Senator (D-Florida, 2001-present)  
Sheldon Whitehouse (B.A. 1978) – U.S. Senator (D-Rhode Island, 2007-present); Attorney General of Rhode Island (1999-2003)  
Sherrod Brown (B.A. 1974) – U.S. Senator (D-Ohio, 2007-present); Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (1993-2007)  
Amy Klobuchar (B.A. 1982) – U.S. Senator (D-Minnesota, 2007-present)  
Lamar S. Smith (B.A. 1969) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Texas, 1987-present)  
John Yarmuth (B.A. 1969) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Kentucky, 2007-present)  
Sheila Jackson-Lee (B.A. 1972) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Texas, 1995-present)  
Denise L. Majette (B.A. 1976) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Democrat-Georgia, 2003-2005)

Howard B. Dean III (B.A. 1971) – Governor of Vermont (August 14, 1991-January 8, 2003);  
George Pataki (B.A. 1967) – Governor of New York (1995-2006)  
Bob Taft (B.A. 1963) – Governor of Ohio (1999-2007)  
John "Jack" Dalrymple (B.A. 1970) – Governor of North Dakota (2010-present); Lieutenant Governor of North Dakota (2000-2010)  
Anthony A. Williams (B.A. 1979) – Mayor of Washington, D.C. (1999-2007)  
Susan Bysiewicz (B.A. 1983) – Secretary of State of Connecticut (1999-present)

#### Businessmen:

\*William H. "Bill" Donaldson (B.A. 1953, S&B 1953) – Chairman and CEO of Aetna Insurance Co. (2000-2001); Chairman of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1999-2003)  
\*Henry B. Schacht (B.S. 1956) – Chairman of Lucent Technologies (1995-1997, 2000-2002)  
W. James (Jim) McNerney, Jr. (B.A. 1971) – Chairman and CEO of Boeing (2005-present)  
Russell W. Meyer Jr. (B.A. 1954, S&B 1954) – Chairman and CEO of Cessna Aircraft Co. (1975-2000, 2002-2003)  
Stephen F. Gates (B.A. 1968) – Senior Vice President and General Counsel of ConocoPhillips (2003-2007); Vice President and General Counsel of Amoco Corp. (1995-1998); Executive Vice President of BP Amoco (1999-2000)  
\*Neal S. Wolin (B.A. 1983, J.D. 1988) – Executive Vice President and General Counsel of Hartford Financial Services Group, Inc. (2001-2007); President of Hartford Financial Services Group, Inc. (2007-2009)  
\*Lawrence C. McQuade (B.A. 1950, RS) – Vice Chairman of Prudential Mutual Fund Management, Inc. (1988-1995); Chairman of Qualitas International (1995-2005)  
\*Thomas B. Ross (B.A. 1951, S&B 1951) – Vice President for Government Relations of Loral Space and Communications (1995-2003)  
\*Jeffrey L. Bewkes (B.A. 1974) – Chairman and CEO of Time Warner (2009-present); Director of Council on Foreign Relations (2002-2006)  
John E. Pepper Jr. (B.A. 1960) – Chairman of the board of The Walt Disney Co. (2007-2012); Chairman of the board of Proctor & Gamble Co. (1995-2002)  
Gerald Grinstein (B.A. 1954) – Chairman (1997-1999) and CEO (2004-2007) of Delta Air Lines Inc.  
James S. Chanos (B.A. 1980) – Founder and President of Kynikos Associates [hedge fund investment company] (1985-present)  
Roland W. Betts (B.A. 1968) – Director of the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (2001-2006)  
Michael David Hess (B.A. 1962, J.D. Harvard 1965) – Partner and Senior Managing Director of Giuliani Partners [consulting firm in New York City] (2002-c.2009)  
Ethan Chorin (B.A. 1991) – Senior Manager for Government Relations and Head of Corporate Social Responsibility at Dubai Ports World [United Arab Emirates] (2009-2011)

#### Bankers:

Laurence H. Meyer (B.A. 1965) – Member of the Federal Reserve Board (1996-2002)  
Charles B. Johnson (B.A. 1954) – Chairman of the board of Franklin Resources, Inc. [now called Franklin Templeton Investments] (1969-pres.)

Herbert M. Allison Jr. (B.A. 1965) – Chairman and CEO of TIAA-CREF (2002-2008); CEO of Fannie Mae (2008-2009); Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Financial Stability (2009-2011)  
\*Stephen A. Schwarzman (B.A. 1969, S&B 1969) – Chairman and CEO of The Blackstone Group (1985-present)  
Joseph H. Gleberman (B.A. 1980) – Partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co. (1990-2011)  
Laurence Frederick Whittemore (B.A. 1951) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1974-2003)  
\*Alexander T. Ercklentz (B.A. 1959, S&B 1959) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1978-present)  
George Harold Pfau Jr. (B.S. 1948, S&B 1948) – Senior Vice President of Paine Webber [acquired by UBS] (1979-c.2004)  
Jerome P. Kenney (B.A. 1963) – Vice-Chairman of Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc. (2002-2008)  
Robert J. Small (B.A. Yale) – Managing Director of Berkshire Partners (2000-present)

#### Journalists:

\*David R. Gergen (B.A. 1963) – CNN political analyst; Counselor to the President of the U.S. (1993-1994)  
\*Robert Greeley Kaiser (B.A. 1964) – Associate Editor and Senior Correspondent at *The Washington Post* (1998-present)  
\*Paul E. Steiger (B.A. 1964) – Managing Editor of *Wall Street Journal* (1991-2007)  
Robert U. “Bob” Woodward (B.A. 1965) – *Washington Post* reporter (1971-present) and best-selling author  
Eric Dwight Pace (B.A. 1957) – Member of the staff of *The New York Times* (1965-2004)  
\*Fareed Zakaria (B.A. 1986, S&K 1986) – Editor of Newsweek International; Director of Council on Foreign Relations (2004-present)  
\*James F. Hoge Jr. (B.A. 1958) – Editor of *Foreign Affairs* magazine (1992-2010)  
\*William F. Buckley Jr. (B.A. 1950, S&B 1950) – Editor-at-Large of *National Review* magazine (1991-2004)  
\*Robert B. Semple Jr. (B.A. 1959) – Associate Editor of the Editorial Page of *The New York Times* (1988-present)  
\*Hugh D.S. Greenway (B.A. 1958, S&K 1958) – Foreign Affairs Columnist for *The Boston Globe* (2000-present)  
\*Robert W. Kagan (B.A. 1980, S&B 1980) – Columnist for *The Washington Post*; Co-Founder of the Project for the New American Century  
Dana T. Milbank (B.A. 1990, S&B 1990) – Columnist for *The Washington Post*  
David Leonhardt (B.A. 1994, S&B 1994) – Washington Bureau Chief of *The New York Times* (?-present)  
\*Paul Krugman (B.A. 1974) – Op-Ed Columnist for *The New York Times* (1999-present)  
Scott C. Smith (B.A. 1973) – President, Publisher, and CEO of Chicago Tribune Co. (1997-2004, 2006-2008)  
James H. Ottaway Jr. (B.A. 1960) – Senior Vice President of Dow Jones & Co. (1986-2003)  
\*Margaret G. Warner (B.A. 1971) – PBS journalist  
Anderson Cooper (B.A. 1989) – CNN reporter (2001-present); anchor of *Anderson Cooper 360°* (2003-present)  
Michael Medved (B.A. 1969) – radio commentator and author; host of *The Michael Medved Show*

#### Organization Executives:

Howard B. Dean III (B.A. 1971) – Chairman of the Democratic National Committee (2005-2009)  
\*Roger D. Stone (B.A. 1955) – President of Sustainable Development Institute (1993-present)  
\*Strobe Talbott (B.A. 1968, RS) – President of The Brookings Institution (2002-present)  
\*Winston Lord (B.A. 1959, S&B 1959) – Co-Chairman of the board of International Rescue Committee (c. 2001-c. 2004)  
\*Richard E. Salomon (B.A. 1964) – Vice Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations (2007-present)  
\*Carl Gershman (B.A. 1965) – President of the National Endowment for Democracy (1984-present)  
\*Jonathan F. Fanton (B.A. 1965) – Chairman of the board of Human Rights Watch (1998-2003); President of John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (1999-2009)

#### College Administrators and Professors:

\*David L. Boren (B.A. 1963, S&B 1963, RS) – President of University of Oklahoma (1994-present); U.S. Senator (D-Oklahoma, 1979-1994)  
\*Steven Knapp (B.A. 1973) – President of George Washington University (2007-present); Provost of Johns Hopkins University (1996-2007)  
Marvin Krislov (B.A. 1982, J.D. 1988, RS) – President of Oberlin College (2007-present); Vice President and General Counsel of the University of Michigan (1998-2007)  
Richard H. Brodhead (B.A. 1968, Ph.D. 1972) – President of Duke University [North Carolina] (2004-present)  
Dale T. Knobel (B.A. 1971) – President of Denison University (1998-2013)  
Russell K. Osgood (B.A. 1969, J.D. 1974) – President of Grinnell College [Iowa] (1998-2010)  
Douglas M. North (B.A. 1962) – President of Alaska Pacific University [Anchorage, Alaska] (1995-2009)  
Steven E. Hyman (B.A. 1974) – Provost of Harvard University (December 2001-2011); Professor of Neurobiology at Harvard Medical School; Director of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) (1996-2001)  
Michael A. Bernstein (B.A. 1976, Ph.D. 1982) – Provost of Tulane University (2007-present)  
David M. Schizer (B.A. 1990; M.A. 1990; J.D. 1993) – Dean of Columbia Law School (2004-present)  
Mary Elizabeth Magill (B.A. 1988) – Dean of Stanford Law School (2012-present); Vice Dean of Univ. of Virginia School of Law (2009-2012)  
Kurt L. Schmoke (B.A. 1971) – Dean of Howard University School of Law (2003-2012)  
Avi Soifer (B.A. 1969, J.D. 1972) – Dean of William S. Richardson School of Law at the University of Hawaii (2003-present)  
Robert J. Sternberg (B.A. 1972) – Dean of Tufts University School of Arts and Sciences (2005-present); President of the American Psychological Association (2003); IBM Professor of Psychology and Education at Yale University (1986-2005)  
\*R. Keith Walton (B.A. 1986, S&B 1986) – Executive Vice President and Secretary of Columbia University (1996-2007)

\*Samuel P. Huntington (B.A. 1946) – Professor of Government at Harvard University (1962-2008)  
\*Rashid I. Khalidi (B.A. 1970) – Professor of Middle East History at University of Chicago (1987-2003)  
\*Paul Krugman (B.A. 1974) – Professor of Economics and International Affairs at Princeton University (2000-present)  
\*Michael Mandelbaum (B.A. 1968) – Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (1990-present)  
Akhil Reed Amar (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1984) – Sterling Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1993-present)  
Ian Ayres (B.A. 1981, J.D. 1986) – William K. Townsend Professor of Law at Yale Law School  
Daniel Markovits (B.A. 1991, J.D. 2000) – Professor of Law at Yale Law School (2007-present)  
Reva Siegel (B.A. 1978; J.D. 1986) – Nicholas deB. Katzenbach Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1999-present)  
James Q. Whitman (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1988) – Ford Foundation Professor of Comparative and Foreign Law at Yale Law School (1996-present)  
John Fabian Witt (B.A. 1994, J.D. 1999, Ph.D. 2000) – Professor of Law at Yale Law School

Alvin C. Warren (B.A. 1966) – Professor of Law at Harvard Law School (1980-present)  
Jeffrey N. Gordon (B.A. 1971) – Alfred W. Bressler Professor of Law at Columbia Law School (1998-present)  
Lance Liebman (B.A. 1962) – William S. Beinecke Professor of Law at Columbia Law School (1998-present)  
Brian C. Murchison (B.A. 1974, J.D. 1979, S&B 1974) – Professor of Law at Washington and Lee University School of Law (1990-present)  
\*Marvin Zonis (B.A. 1958) – Professor of Behavioral Sciences at the University of Chicago (1989-present)  
Susan N. Gary (B.A. 1977) – Orlando John and Marian H. Hollis Professor of Law at University of Oregon School of Law (2008-present)  
Tom Lininger (B.A. 1988) – Orlando John and Marian H. Hollis Professor of Law at University of Oregon School of Law (c.2003-present)  
Joseph A. Grundfest (B.A. 1973) – William A. Franke Professor of Law and Business at Stanford University (1997-present)  
Pamela S. Karlan (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1984) – Kenneth and Harle Montgomery Professor of Public Interest Law at Stanford Univ. (1999-present)

Wall Street Lawyers:

Robert B. Fiske, Jr. (B.A. 1952) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1964-2010)  
Guy Miller Struve (B.A. 1963, LL.B. Harvard 1966) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1973-2013)  
Bradley Y. Smith (B.A. 1970) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1980-2013)  
Patrick S. Kenadjian (B.A. 1970) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1984-2010)  
D. Scott Wise (B.A. 1974) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1987-2011)  
Paul W. Bartel, II (B.A. 1975) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1988-2010)  
John M. Brandow (B.A. 1975) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1989-present)  
Danforth Townley (B.A. 1979; J.D. 1985) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1994-present)  
Mario J. Verdolini (B.A. 1985) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1997-present)  
Harry Ballan (B.A. 1981; Ph.D. 1986) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1999-present)  
Daniel G. Kelly, Jr. (B.A. 1973) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1999-present)  
Jean M. McLoughlin (B.A. 1988) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (2001-present)

Michael M. Maney (B.A. 1956) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1971-2003); Senior Counsel of Sullivan & Cromwell (2003-present)  
Willard B. Taylor (B.A. 1962; LL.B. 1965) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1972-2007)  
Richard R. Howe (B.A. 1964) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1974-2009)  
Richard G. Asthalter (B.A. 1966; J.D. 1971) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1980-2008)  
John T. Bostelman (B.A. 1975) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1986-2009)  
\*James H. Carter (B.A. 1965; LL.B. 1969) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1977-2010)  
Richard J. Urowsky (B.A. 1967; J.D. 1972) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1980-2014)  
Gandolfo V. DiBlasi (B.A. 1975; J.D. 1978) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1985-present)  
David F. Morrison (B.A. 1974) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1986-present)  
Robert S. Risoleo (B.A. 1980; J.D. 1984) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1992-present)  
William F. Kroener III (B.A. 1967) – General Counsel of FDIC (1995-2006); Counsel of Sullivan & Cromwell (2006-present)

Gregory A. Weiss (B.A. 1966) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1976-present)  
Glenn M. Reiter (B.A. 1973, J.D. 1976) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1984-present)  
Sarah E. Cogan (B.A. 1978) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1989-present)  
David A. Sneider (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1994-present)

Roger J. Baneman (B.A. 1972) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling (1985-present)  
Antonia E. Stolper (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling  
Michael J. Kennedy (B.A. 1981) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling  
Thomas B. Wilner (B.A. 1966) – Of Counsel of Shearman & Sterling

Robert S. Rifkind (B.A. 1958) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (1971-2001)  
Rory O. Millson (B.A. 1973; J.D. 1977, B.A. Oxford 1975 (S. African Rhodes Scholar)) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (1984-present)  
Rachel G. Skaistis (B.A. 1992) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (2005-present)  
Paul H. Zumbro (B.A. 1992) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (2005-present)  
Antony L. Ryan (B.A. 1992; J.D. Harvard 1995) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (2003-present)  
Gary A. Bornstein (B.A. 1994; J.D. Harvard 1997) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (2005-present)

Robert W. Sheehan (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle (as of 2014)  
Turner P. Smith (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle (as of 2014)  
Matias A. Vega (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle (as of 2014)  
\*Albert Francke (B.A. 1956) – Partner (1968-?) and Of Counsel of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle (as of 2014)

David F. Williams (B.A. 1974) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [Washington, D.C. office] (as of 2014)  
Diana de Brito (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [Washington, D.C. office] (as of 2014)  
Gregory P. Patti Jr. (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [New York City office]; former partner at O'Melveny & Myers  
Hal S. Shaftel (B.A. 1986; J.D. 1989) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [New York City office] (as of 2014)  
Jonathan M. Wainwright (B.A. 1965) – Senior Counsel of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft (as of 2014)  
Michael A. McCormack (B.A. 1991) – Special Counsel of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft (as of 2014)

\*David W. Rivkin (B.A. 1977; J.D. 1980) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1988-present)  
Michael W. Blair (B.A. 1977) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1989-present)  
Scott A. Edelman (B.A. Yale; M.A. Yale) – Partner (and Vice Chairman) of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1995-present)  
Andrew E. Tombak (B.A. Yale, J.D. Yale) – Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1996-present)  
\*Alfred D. Youngwood (B.A. 1959) – Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1970-2008)  
\*Toby S. Myerson (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1983-1989, 1990-present)

\*Jerome A. Cohen (B.A. 1951; J.D. 1955) – Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1981-2000); Of Counsel of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (2000-present); Professor of Law at New York University School of Law (1990-present)  
Charles H. Critchlow (B.A. 1972) – Partner of Coudert Brothers [law firm in New York City] (1986-2005); Partner of Baker & McKenzie [law firm in New York City] (2005-present)  
Thomas J. Rice (B.A. 1982) – Partner of Baker & McKenzie [law firm in New York City] (c.2013-present)  
Angela J. Walitt (B.A. 1991) – Partner of Baker & McKenzie [law firm in New York City] (c.2013-present)  
Donald Schapiro (B.A. 1944; LL.B. 1949) – Partner of Chadbourne & Parke [law firm in New York City] (1988-present)  
Robert William Brundige Jr. (B.A. 1966) – Partner of Hughes, Hubbard & Reed [law firm in New York City] (1987-present)  
John M. Townsend (B.A. 1968, J.D., 1971) – Partner and Co-Chair of Hughes, Hubbard & Reed [law firm in New York City]

Other Corporate Lawyers:

Michael P. Boudett (B.A. 1988, J.D. Harvard 1991) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)  
David R. Pierson (B.A. 1973, J.D. Harvard 1978) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)  
Daniel Marx (B.A. Yale, J.D. Yale) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)  
Robert E. Toone (B.A. 1991, J.D. 1995) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)  
Donald R. Ware (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)  
David Lee Weltman (B.A. 1954) – Partner of Foley, Hoag & Eliot [law firm in Boston] (1967-c.2005)  
F. Davis Dassori (B.A. 1963, LL.B. 1968) – Partner of Choate Hall & Stewart [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)  
W. Brewster Lee (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Choate Hall & Stewart [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)

Andrew E. Mishkin (B.A. 1968) – Partner of Duane Morris [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1999-present)  
Lisa W. Clark (B.A. 1982) – Partner of Duane Morris [law firm in Philadelphia] (1999-present)  
Richard H. Lowe (B.A. 1978) – Partner of Duane Morris [law firm in Philadelphia] (2003-present)  
Steven Lewis Friedman (B.A. 1968) – Partner of Duane Morris [law firm in Philadelphia] (2005-present); Partner of Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish and Kauffman [law firm in Philadelphia] (1976-2005); Member of the American Jewish Committee National Board of Governors (1991-2003); Member of the Republican Jewish Coalition National Board of Directors (2008-present); Member of United States Israel Science and Technology Commission Advisory Committee (appointed by President Bush in 2003) (2003-present)

Scott J. Davis (B.A. 1972) – Partner of Mayer Brown [Chicago] (1983-present)  
R. Quincy White (B.A. 1954) – Partner of Sidley & Austin [Chicago] (1973-1993)  
David Alan Richards (B.A. 1967, J.D. 1972, S&B 1967) – Partner of Sidley & Austin [law firm in Chicago and New York City] (1983-2000); Partner of McCarter & English [law firm in New York City] (2001-present)  
Donald Etra (B.A. 1968, S&B 1968) – Partner of Sidley & Austin [law firm in Chicago and Los Angeles] (1983-1995); Head of *Law Offices of Donald Etra* in Los Angeles (1995-present)  
\*Eli Whitney Debevoise II (B.A. 1974) – Partner of Arnold & Porter [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1979-2007); U.S. Executive Director of The World Bank (2007-present)  
Jonathan C. Rose (B.A. 1963, S&B 1963) – Partner of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue [Washington, D.C.] (1977-1981, 1984-present)  
H. Stewart Dunn Jr. (B.A. 1951) – Partner of Ivins, Phillips & Barker [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1962-c.2002)  
Allen C. Goolsby (B.A. 1961) – Partner of Hunton & Williams [Richmond, Virginia] (1975-present)  
Andrea Bear Field (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Hunton & Williams [Washington, D.C.] (1991-present)  
Kell Marsh Damsgaard (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Morgan, Lewis & Bockius [Philadelphia] (1981-present)  
Robert L. Abramowitz (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Morgan, Lewis & Bockius [Philadelphia] (1990-present)  
Gene J. Oshman (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1983) – Partner of Baker Botts [law firm in Houston, Texas] (1990-present)  
J. David Kirkland Jr. (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1983) – Partner of Baker Botts [law firm in Houston, Texas]  
Peter R. Taft (B.A. 1958; LL.B., 1961, S&K 1958) – Partner of Munger, Tolles & Olson [law firm in Los Angeles] (1969-present)  
George Denegre (B.A. 1943) – Partner of Jones, Walker, Weachter, Poievent, Carrere & Denegre [law firm in New Orleans] (1952-2008)  
Robert Hastings Nichols (B.A. 1963) – Partner of Cotton, Watt, Jones & King [Chicago] (1967-1995); Senior Attorney and Coordinator for United Airlines Master Executive Council, Air Line Pilots Association, International AFL-CIO (1995-c.2007)  
Stephen M. Cutler (B.A. 1982, J.D. 1985) – Executive Vice President and General Counsel of JP Morgan Chase & Co. (Feb. 2007-present); Director of the Division of Enforcement at the Securities and Exchange Commission (2001-2005)  
Roderick A. Palmore (B.A. 1974) – Executive Vice President and General Counsel of General Mills, Inc. (2008-present); General Counsel and Secretary of Sara Lee Corp. (1999-2008); Senior Vice President and General Counsel of Sara Lee Corp. (1999-2004)  
Joel N. Ephross (B.A. 1983) – Assistant General Counsel of Enron Corp. (2002-2005); Special Counsel of Duane Morris [law firm] (2005-2011)

Note: \*=Member of the Council on Foreign Relations; RS = Rhodes Scholar; S&B = Skull & Bones; S&K = Scroll & Key

Note: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit is located in New York City. The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York is located in New York City. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit is located in Chicago.

## Chief Enforcer at the S.E.C. to Step Down

By [JENNY ANDERSON](#)

The New York Times

Published: April 15, 2005

Stephen M. Cutler, the top law enforcement official for the Securities and Exchange Commission during one of the agency's most tumultuous times, said yesterday that he would leave in a month.

A successor has not yet been chosen. The leading candidate is Linda Thomsen, 50, Mr. Cutler's current deputy. While Peter Derby, the commission's managing executive for operations, has already solicited suggestions from the five S.E.C. commissioners about who should replace Mr. Cutler, the chairman, William H. Donaldson, will have the final say. If named, Ms. Thomsen would be the first woman to head enforcement at the commission.

Mr. Cutler, 43, became enforcement director in October 2001. The collapse of [Enron](#) came soon after, followed by a wave of corporate scandals, from accounting frauds at [WorldCom](#), [Tyco International](#) and Qwest to wide-ranging abuses at mutual funds and Wall Street firms.

At the time, Mr. Cutler and the commission faced intense criticism from some lawmakers, business leaders and other regulators that the agency, which was established in 1934 to protect the nation's markets and its investors, had failed.

"This has been a historically important period to the S.E.C. and the enforcement division," said Harvey J. Goldschmid, a Democratic S.E.C. commissioner who has announced his intention to leave the S.E.C. this summer. "They haven't been in such a high-profile position since the 1930's, and Steve did a masterful job of moving everything forward and reassuring the public of the commission's integrity and rigor and fairness."

Under Mr. Cutler's leadership, the enforcement division - which prosecutes cases for the commission - responded to the collapse of the stock market and the subsequent wave of corporate scandals by obtaining more than \$6 billion in penalties and disgorgement, \$4.5 billion of which is being returned to investors. Of the 12 largest penalties leveled by the commission, 10 - including the record \$750 million penalty against WorldCom - occurred under Mr. Cutler. Recently, there has been a fierce internal debate among the five commissioners about the merits of levying tough penalties.

The division's caseload under Mr. Cutler was marked by complex cases at an array of companies. In addition to overseeing investigations into accounting scandals, he spearheaded a series of cases against the gatekeepers who did not prevent those frauds, including [Merrill Lynch](#), J. P. Morgan and [Citigroup](#). Mr. Cutler's staff also oversaw investigations into trading abuses at the New York Stock Exchange (which culminated in the indictment of 15 traders on Tuesday), a crackdown on abuses in the allocation of initial public offerings and cases of improper trading in mutual funds.

"If I could point to an accomplishment, I hope and I think we've had some success in re-establishing a culture of compliance on Wall Street and on Main Street," Mr. Cutler said in an interview yesterday. "You do that in a variety of ways: in the enforcement arenas, in tough sanctions and holding people accountable."

Mr. Cutler was sometimes put in the uncomfortable position of his agency being overshadowed by Eliot Spitzer, the New York attorney general, who jarred Wall Street when he uncovered evidence of conflicts of interest in research, and trading abuses in mutual funds. While the two men sparred at times, they collectively put Wall Street on notice.

"Obviously, there have been times when I have felt the S.E.C. as an institution could be tougher," Mr. Spitzer said yesterday. "But Steve was always a serious prosecutor who pursued cases effectively and was a leading voice in rejuvenating the institution."

Mr. Cutler said, "There's plenty of room for lots of cops on the beat."

His departure was lamented by the commission's employees yesterday. Known as intellectual, intense and fair, he made himself accessible to a staff that had been battered in the public arena as ineffective, out of date and too political. He embraced Mr. Donaldson's strategy of transforming the commission to better anticipate risks. In 2003, he suggested that Wall Street firms review conflicts in their businesses and bring them to the S.E.C. with explanations as to how they were being managed. A steady march of lawyers followed.

"The public perception of the commission has changed," said a senior S.E.C. official who asked not to be named. "He did that."

Cynthia Glassman, one of two Republican commissioners, said she and Mr. Cutler sometimes disagreed, but she lauded his methods. "He's speeded up enforcement, which makes it more effective," she said. "We'll miss that effectiveness as well as his incredible sense of humor."

There was a sense among many on Mr. Cutler's staff that he had accomplished a great deal and was getting out while on top, exhausted from the work and the ideological rift that currently divides the commission. But Mr. Cutler said that was not the case.

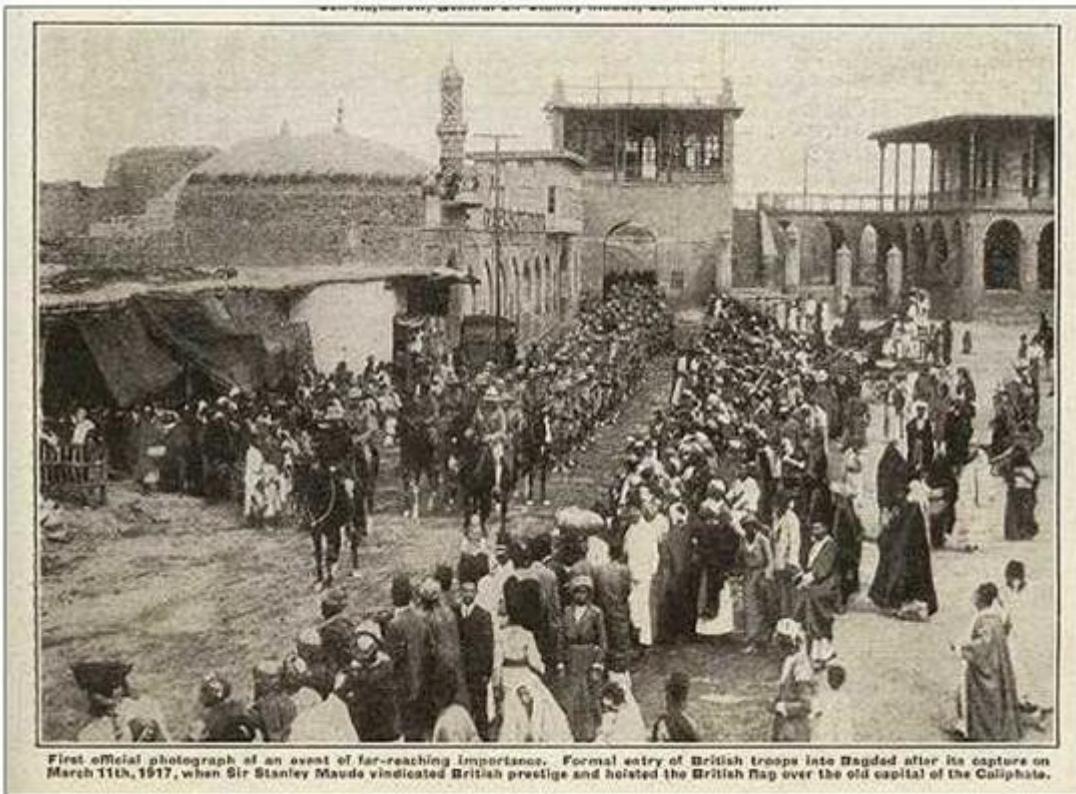
The commission currently has two Democratic and two Republican commissioners, and Mr. Donaldson, a Republican chairman. Many major decisions have come to a 3-to-2 vote, with Mr. Donaldson siding with the two Democrats in favor of tough penalties and changes. The departure of Mr. Goldschmid, a Democrat, in conjunction with a tide of corporate protests against excessive regulation and enforcement, has many inside the commission concerned that the road ahead will be tougher.

"Every corner of corporate America is pushing back," said one S.E.C. division head. "I wouldn't want to preside over that."

Mr. Cutler said he had not decided what he would do next. Having often said he had "the coolest job in the world" he seemed moved yesterday by the support he received. "What did Indiana Jones say? It's not the number of years, it's the number of miles. We've logged a lot of miles. It's been an unbelievable time."

Source: [http://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/15/business/15sec.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/15/business/15sec.html?_r=0)

## 1917: Year of the Snake and the Establishment of Modern Iraq



First official photograph of an event of far-reaching importance. Formal entry of British troops into Baghdad after its capture on March 11th, 1917, when Sir Stanley Maude vindicated British prestige and hoisted the British flag over the old capital of the Caliphate.

British troops enter Baghdad on March 11, 1917 after capturing the city from the Ottoman Turkish army.



Emir Faisal (later King Faisal I of Iraq) and his delegates appear at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. From left to right: Rustum Haider, Nuri as-Said, Emir Faisal, Captain Pisani (behind Feisal), T.E. Lawrence, Feisal's slave (name unknown), and Captain Tahsin Qadri. Britain was given the power to govern Iraq as a protectorate following the Paris Peace Conference.



Sons of King Hussein of the Hejaz (seated left to right): Feisal, King of Iraq; Abdullah, Emir of Transjordan and later King of Jordan; and Ali, King of the Hejaz, before Hejaz was captured by Ibn Saud. The British government installed King Faisal and Emir Abdullah as figurehead "leaders" of their crown colonies of Mesopotamia (Iraq) and Transjordan (Jordan).  
(Source: *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914-1922* by David Fromkin)



Photo Postcard of the Coronation of Emir (Prince) Faisal I as King of Iraq in Baghdad, Iraq on August 23, 1921. On the extreme left is Sir Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner of Iraq, and to his left is Kinahan Cornwallis, King Faisal is seated, and to his left is Sir Aylmer Haldane, the British Commanding Officer. Behind the King is his aide-de-camp (ADC) Tahsin Qadri and to extreme left is Sayied Hussein Afnan, Secretary of the Council of Ministers.



British troops observe Baghdad, Iraq on June 11, 1941. The British army invaded Iraq beginning on May 2, 1941 to overthrow the pro-Nazi Prime Minister of Iraq Rashid Ali al-Gailani and to secure the oil fields in Iraq. (Photo: No. E 3464 from the Imperial War Museum collection)



The British army (above) and the Soviet Red Army invade Iran beginning on August 25, 1941, just two weeks after Prime Minister of Great Britain Winston Churchill met with U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt aboard HMS *Prince of Wales* in Newfoundland. Britain and Soviet Union proceeded to remove Shah Reza Pahlavi on September 16, 1941 and installed the Shah's son Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (the "Shah" who would evacuate to America in 1979). Britain and Soviet Union invaded Iran to secure a supply line from the Persian Gulf to Soviet Russia and to secure Iran's oil for Allied military needs.

(Source: Catherine Legrand, Jacques Legrand: *Shah-i Iran*. Creative Publishing International (Farsi edition), Minnetonka, MN 1999, S. 41. IR/RR) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Britishtroopsiran.jpg>

## **President Harry Truman greeting King Faisal II of Iraq. Aug 16, 1952**



[www.iraqism.net](http://www.iraqism.net)

President Harry S. Truman greets King Faisal II of Iraq on August 16, 1952 during King Faisal's visit to America.  
(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisal-ii-in-united-states.html>)

## **King Faisal II tours the Standard Oil plant August 14, 1952**



[www.iraqism.net](http://www.iraqism.net)

(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisal-ii-in-united-states.html>)

**King Faisal and Prince Abdul-Ilah touring Ford Motor Company.**



(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisel-ii-in-united-states.html>)

**King Faisal II of Iraq viewing the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution Album**



(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisel-ii-in-united-states.html>)

**King Faisal II inspecting the Guard of Honor at the Armored School.**



www.iraqism.net  
72-687

(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisal-ii-in-united-states.html>)

**King Faisal II and Prince Abdul-Ilah leaving the U. S. S. Oriskany**



www.iraqism.net

(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisal-ii-in-united-states.html>)

**King Faisal II visiting the Naval Academy. Date: August 18, 1952**



(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisel-ii-in-united-states.html>)

**King Faisal II leaving the Capitol with Senator Green.**



(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisel-ii-in-united-states.html>)

**King Faisal II and Prince Abdul-Ilah outside the Mosque in Washington.**



(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisal-ii-in-united-states.html>)

**Rodger Davies and King Faisal II touring Hoover Dam and Lake Meade**



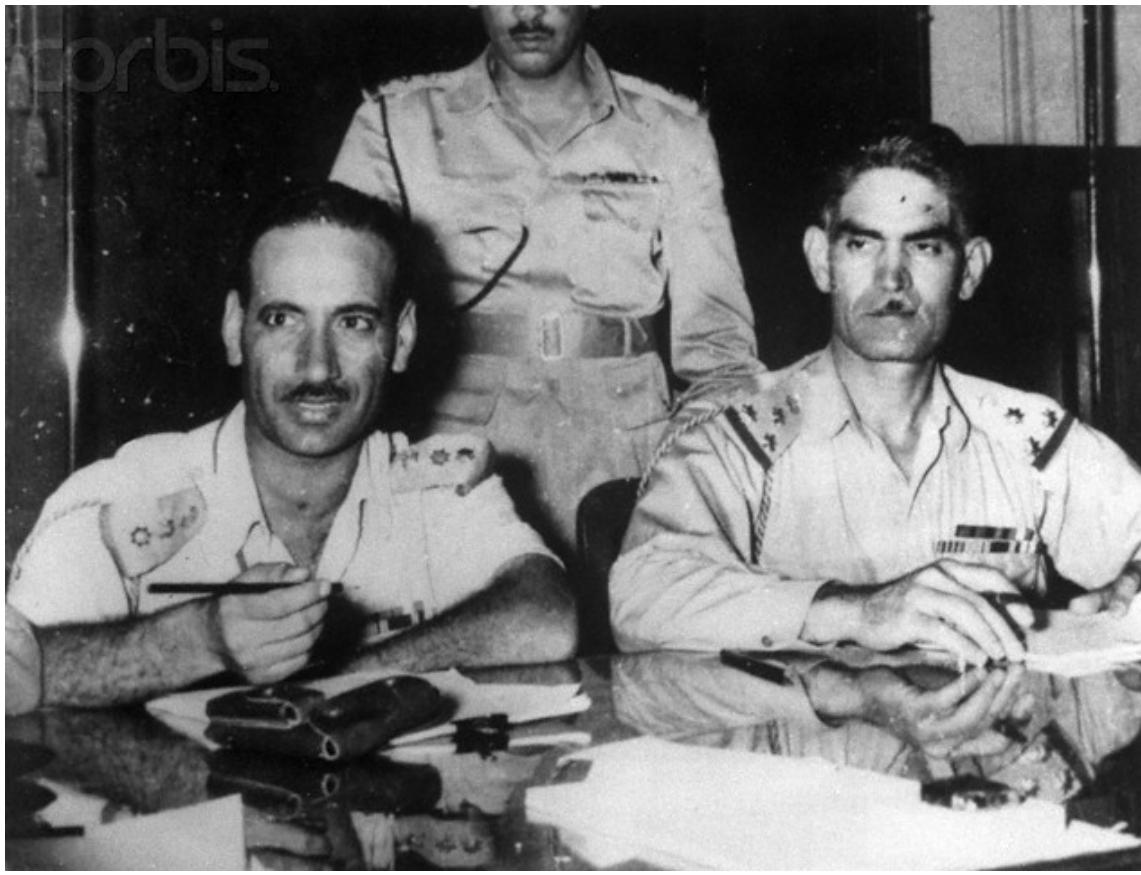
(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisal-ii-in-united-states.html>)



King Faisal II of Iraq (left) and King Hussein of Jordan meet together.



Iraqi terrorists Abdul Karim Kassem (right) and Colonel Wasfi Tahir take over Iraq in July 1958 after overthrowing the Iraqi monarchy and assassinating King Faisal II of Iraq and Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Said in a coup d'etat.



Colonel Abdul Salam Arif (L), the vice premier of Iraq, sits with General Abdul Karim Kassem, Iraq's new Prime Minister, in Baghdad, Iraq on July 23, 1958. In July of 1958, Colonel Aref and General Qasim overthrew the ruling monarchy in a coup d'etat and took control of the new Iraqi republic. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



The body of Iraq's Premier Abd al-Karim Qasim and two of his lieutenants lie slumped in their Defense Ministry room, following the February 8th revolt, in Baghdad, Iraq on February 8, 1963. Qasim and his followers held out against the rebels until their ammunition gave out. Qasim then surrendered and bargained for his life. Qasim failed to give a hastily-summoned court the proper answers, according to an American in the town at the time, and he was promptly shot. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Prisoners accused of plotting the assassination of Iraqi Premier Abdul Karim Kassem are shown in the dock during their trial in Baghdad, Iraq on January 9, 1960. The only woman in the group is Yusra Said Thabit, sister of the man who allegedly confessed to organizing the attempted assassination. Also among the accused was her husband, Hamid Maree, a Syrian, the only foreigner to appear in the court. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Cradling Sten guns under their arms, bereted Iraqi soldiers guard gaping wreckage of the Defense Ministry in Baghdad, Iraq on February 12, 1963. Overthrown President of Iraq Abdul Karim Kassem, executed on February 9, 1963, and other leaders of the old government made a last stand in the ministry for hours on February 8, 1963 against rebel air and ground attacks. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Iraqi tank patrols the streets of Baghdad, Iraq on February 11, 1963, in this first picture off of Baghdad since the February 8th revolt that put Abdul Salam Aref's regime in power in place of that of Abdel Karim Kassem. Pictures of Aref and United Arab Republic Presidential Gamel Abdul Nasser appeared almost everywhere February 12, and the people seemed glad of the end of Kassem's chaotic rule and optimistic that the new regime would restore stability. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Barely two weeks after the bloody coup which toppled the Kassem Regime in Iraq, the new revolutionary government in Baghdad appeared to have things under control. Tanks and civilian militiamen were still patrolling side streets surrounding the Communists and other Pro-Kassem elements were once strong. The Iraqi National Guardsmen, who have not yet received uniforms, march behind a tank in a mopping up operation in Baghdad, Iraq on February 22, 1963. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac and President Saddam Hussein sign an agreement giving priority to France for commercial exchange with Iraq during a meeting in Baghdad, Iraq on December 2, 1974. (Henri Bureau/Sygma/Corbis)



Jacques Chirac embraces Saddam Hussein in Baghdad, Iraq in January 1976. (© Henri Bureau/Sygma/Corbis)



Bülent Ecevit (center), Prime Minister of Turkey, greets Iraq's ruler Saddam Hussein (right) at an airport in an undated photo.  
**Bülent Ecevit attended the Bilderberg Meetings held in Turkey in April 1975.**



Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (left) appears with King Hussein of Jordan.



Saddam Hussein chats with Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr during the 1970s.



Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak (left) talks to Iraq's diplomat Tariq Aziz in Cairo, Egypt in 1984. (© David Rubinger/CORBIS)



Syria's dictator President Hafez el Assad (left), Iraq's dictator President Saddam Hussein (second from right), and Iraq's Information and Culture Minister Tariq Aziz (right) attend the Baghdad Arab Summit in Baghdad, Iraq on November 1978. (© Francoise Demulder/Corbis)



Algeria's President Houari Boumedienne (center) is flanked by Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran (left) and Saddam Hussein, (right), vice president of Iraq's Council of Revolutionary Command, at the Salle de Honour at Algiers Airport in Algiers, Algeria on March 3, 1975. Iraq's representatives to the OPEC Summit arrived at the airport shortly after the Shah. Iraq President Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr did not attend the conference. ([Bettmann/CORBIS](#))



Iraqi President Saddam Hussein (right) and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz meet with Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev (left) and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze (2<sup>nd</sup> left) in Moscow, Soviet Union in December 1985. Named foreign minister in 1983 and then deputy premier in 1991, Tariq Aziz was believed to have wielded little real power of decision-making, but he became one of the regime's best-known figures abroad who matched his American peers in debate. (AFP/Getty Images)  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/picturegalleries/worldnews/8087607/In-pictures-Tariq-Aziz-Saddam-Husseins-deputy-is-sentenced-to-death-by-the-Iraqi-Supreme-Court.html?image=3>



Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein greets Arab terrorist Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, during the sixth Non-Aligned Summit meetings in Havana, Cuba on September 2, 1979. ([Associated Press](#))



Tariq Aziz (left) greets Saddam Hussein, with Palestine Liberation Organization terrorist Yasser Arafat standing behind Saddam.



Tariq Aziz (left) and his boss Saddam Hussein wear a fashionable necktie and a business suit.



Tariq Aziz (left) greets his boss Saddam Hussein



Saddam's Inner Circle: Tariq Aziz, fourth from left, with Saddam Hussein (center), his son Qusay Hussein, right of Saddam, and other top Baath Party officials



Saddam Hussein exercises his right to bear arms.

**“Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”**  
– Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976), Chairman of Communist China

# Persian Gulf War, Part 1

**Best of enemies** Rumsfeld meets Saddam back in 1983



America's leading hawk, the defence secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, meets his arch foe, Saddam Hussein, in Baghdad in 1983. This photograph was taken during the Iran-Iraq war, when Mr Rumsfeld was an envoy of President Reagan and the US was more sympathetic to Iraq. Photograph: Getty Images

Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein greets Donald Rumsfeld, a special envoy of President Ronald Reagan, in Baghdad, Iraq on December 20, 1983. The Reagan administration allowed American chemical companies to sell chemical and biological weapons to Saddam Hussein during the Iran-Iraq War. The Reagan administration established diplomatic relations with Iraq in 1984; President George H.W. Bush severed diplomatic relations with Iraq in 1990 after Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi Army invaded Kuwait in August 1990.

(Photo: Getty Images/[George Washington University](#))



Saddam Hussein shows Saudi Arabia's King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz an AK-47 automatic rifle during a meeting in Baghdad, Iraq in an undated photo. (AFP/ Getty Images Photo) [http://www.boston.com/news/specials/hussein/gallery/Saddam\\_Hussein\\_life\\_in\\_photos?pg=12](http://www.boston.com/news/specials/hussein/gallery/Saddam_Hussein_life_in_photos?pg=12)

corbis.



Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs Tariq Aziz (R) speaks with President Ronald Reagan (C) and Vice-President George H.W. Bush (L) at the White House in Washington, D.C., USA on November 26, 1984, eight months after receiving Donald Rumsfeld in Baghdad, Iraq. The meetings concerned the war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran. (© Jean Louis Atlan/Sygma/Corbis)



Prime Minister of France Jacques Chirac shakes hands with the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs Tariq Aziz during an official visit to the Elysee Palace in Paris, France on June 10, 1986. (Jacques Pavlovsky/Sygma/Corbis)



U.S. President Ronald Reagan (center) King Hussein of Jordan (left) and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak walk along the colonnades at the White House in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on February 14, 1984. (Barry Thumma/AP)



Iraq's President Saddam Hussein (center) welcomes King Hussein of Jordan (left) and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak during a surprise visit to Baghdad, Iraq on March 19, 1985. (AP Photo)



Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein speaks to the Iraqi army on the Saaif Saab Front during the Iran-Iraq war on July 5, 1987. The Iraqi government was forced to make huge reparations payments as a result of the Iran-Iraq War. The Iran-Iraq War ended in a United Nations cease-fire agreement on August 20, 1988. (© Jacques Pavlovsky/Sygma/Corbis)



A port quarter view of the guided missile frigate *USS Stark* (FFG-31) listing to port after being struck by an Iraqi-launched Exocet missile in the Persian Gulf on May 17, 1987; An Iraqi fighter pilot flying a Mirage jet launched two missiles at the ship, killing 37 American sailors and injuring 21 American sailors.



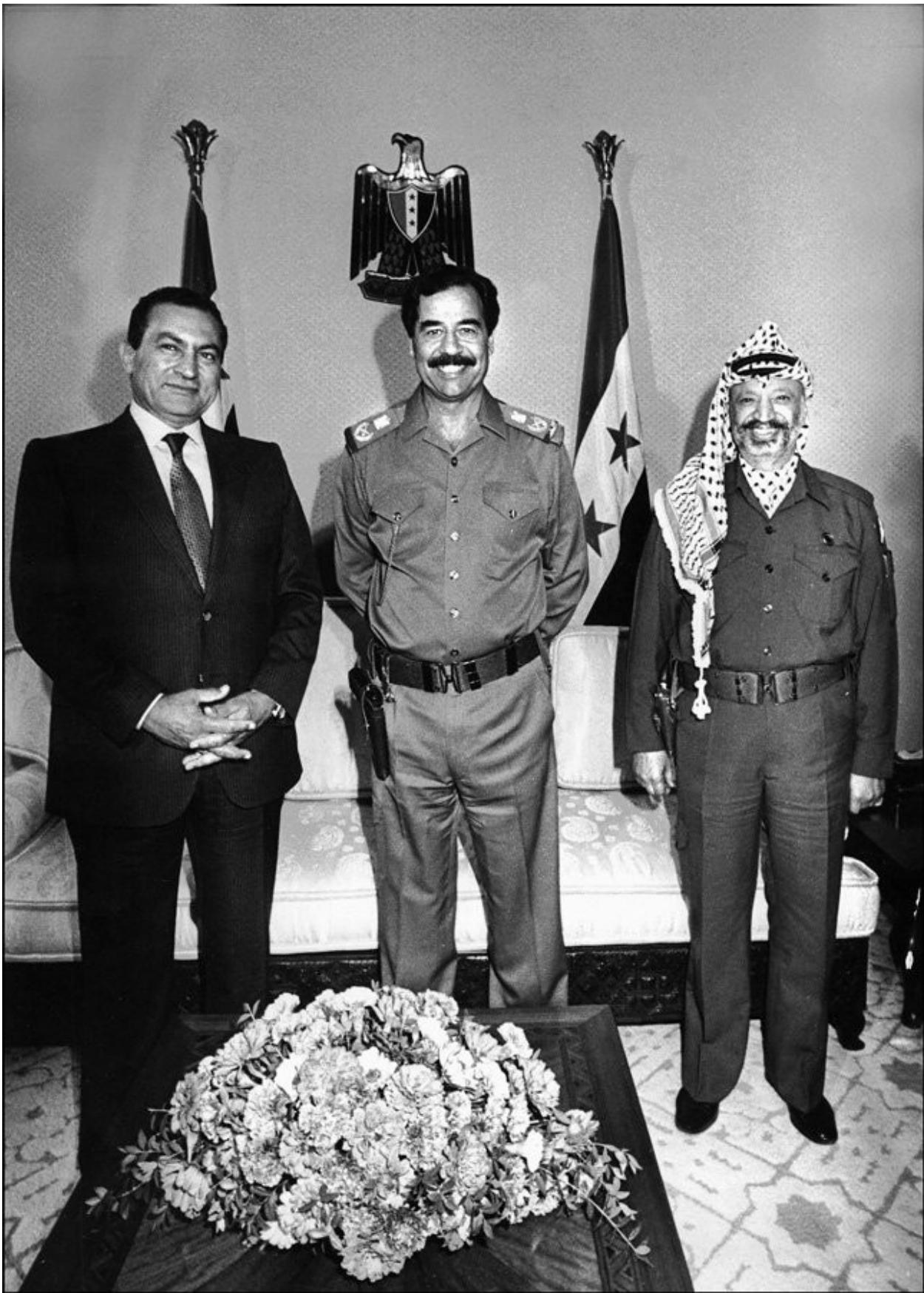
The Halabja poison gas attack occurred during March 16–17, 1988, during the Iran-Iraq War in the Kurdish town of Halabja.  
(Source: [Wikipedia](#))



A map of the Kurdistan region



Kurdish refugees walk together in the mountains of Kurdistan.



President of Egypt Hosni Mubarak (left), President of Iraq Saddam Hussein (center), and Yasser Arafat (right), chairman of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), meet in Baghdad, Iraq on October 23, 1988. (AFP/Getty Images)



From left to right: President of North Yemen Ali Abdullah Saleh, President of Iraq Saddam Hussein, King Hussein of Jordan and President of Egypt Hosni Mubarak wave to the crowd during a motorcade rally prior to the opening of the Arab Cooperation Council in Alexandria, Egypt on June 15, 1989. (MIKE NELSON/AFP/Getty Images)



From right to left: Grand Sheik of Al-Azhar, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, Jordanian King Hussein and North Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh attend the Friday Islamic noon prayer, during the Arab Cooperation Council in Alexandria, Egypt on June 16, 1989. (MIKE NELSON/AFP/Getty Images)

## Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait and Operation Desert Shield (1990)



The Iraqi army invades Kuwait on August 2, 1990 after Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein accused Kuwait of using slant-drilling techniques to 'steal' oil from the Iraqi side of the field. (PASCAL GUYOT/AFP/Getty Images)



President of Iraq Saddam Hussein (right) welcomes Colonel Alaa Hussein Ali, Prime Minister of Kuwait Provisional Free Government, for unification talks in Baghdad, Iraq on August 7, 1990. Colonel Alaa Hussein Ali, a former member of the Iraqi Baath Party who served as the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq following Iraq's annexation of Kuwait, was convicted of treason in a Kuwaiti court in 2000. (Photo: Iraqi News Agency)



U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (left) meets with Prince Sultan, Minister of Defense and Aviation of Saudi Arabia, in Saudi Arabia on December 1, 1990. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



Left photo: King Fahd of Saudi Arabia greets Iraqi despot Saddam Hussein during an Arab summit in Baghdad, Iraq in May 1990.  
Right photo: U.S. Ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie (left) shakes hands with Iraqi Dictator Saddam Hussein in July 1990.



President George H.W. Bush participates in a Joint Chiefs of Staff Briefing with Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell, National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, and Army Chief of Staff Gen. Carl Vuono (second from left) at the Pentagon on August 15, 1990. Cheney, Powell, Scowcroft, and Vuono are members of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR); Bush is a former CFR member. (Photo: George Bush Presidential Library)



Left to right: unknown, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, President George Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle, unknown, CIA Director William Webster, unknown, Richard N. Haass, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Colin Powell, National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, and Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf meet at Camp David on August 4, 1990.



President George H.W. Bush meets with U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker III, John Sununu, Deputy National Security Advisor Robert M. Gates, National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Colin Powell, U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, and Vice President Dan Quayle. They are seen reviewing maps and other briefing materials regarding Operation Desert Storm that are on the coffee table.



President George H.W. Bush meeting with staff over coffee, circa 1990. Left to right: National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, John Sununu, U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Bush, and U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney.  
(Photo: [George Bush Presidential Library](#))



President George H.W. Bush and members of his staff meet in the Oval Office, circa 1990. From left to right: Robert Gates, Jon Sununu, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, Vice President Dan Quayle, President George H.W. Bush, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Colin Powell.  
(Photo: [NARA/George Bush Presidential Library](#))



President George H.W. Bush watches the news with staff circa 1990. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Colin Powell is seated in the rear and Robert Gates is seated next to Bush. (Photo: [George Bush Presidential Library](#))



President George Bush meets with Saudi Prince Saud, Saudi Prince Bandar, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, John Sununu, Robert Gates, and Richard N. Haass on the patio at Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, Maine on August 16, 1990.  
(Photo: George Bush Presidential Library)



President George Bush walks along the driveway at Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, Maine with Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud Al-Faisal during their meeting to discuss the situation in the Persian Gulf on August 16, 1990. (Photo: George Bush Presidential Library)



Prince Saud al-Feisal, the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, listens to a journalist's question concerning the minister's meeting with the America's President George H.W. Bush at Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, Maine, U.S.A. on August 16, 1990. Standing beside the Saudi Arabian prince is Secretary of State James A. Baker III. The man on the far right appears to be Richard Haass, a State Department assistant. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



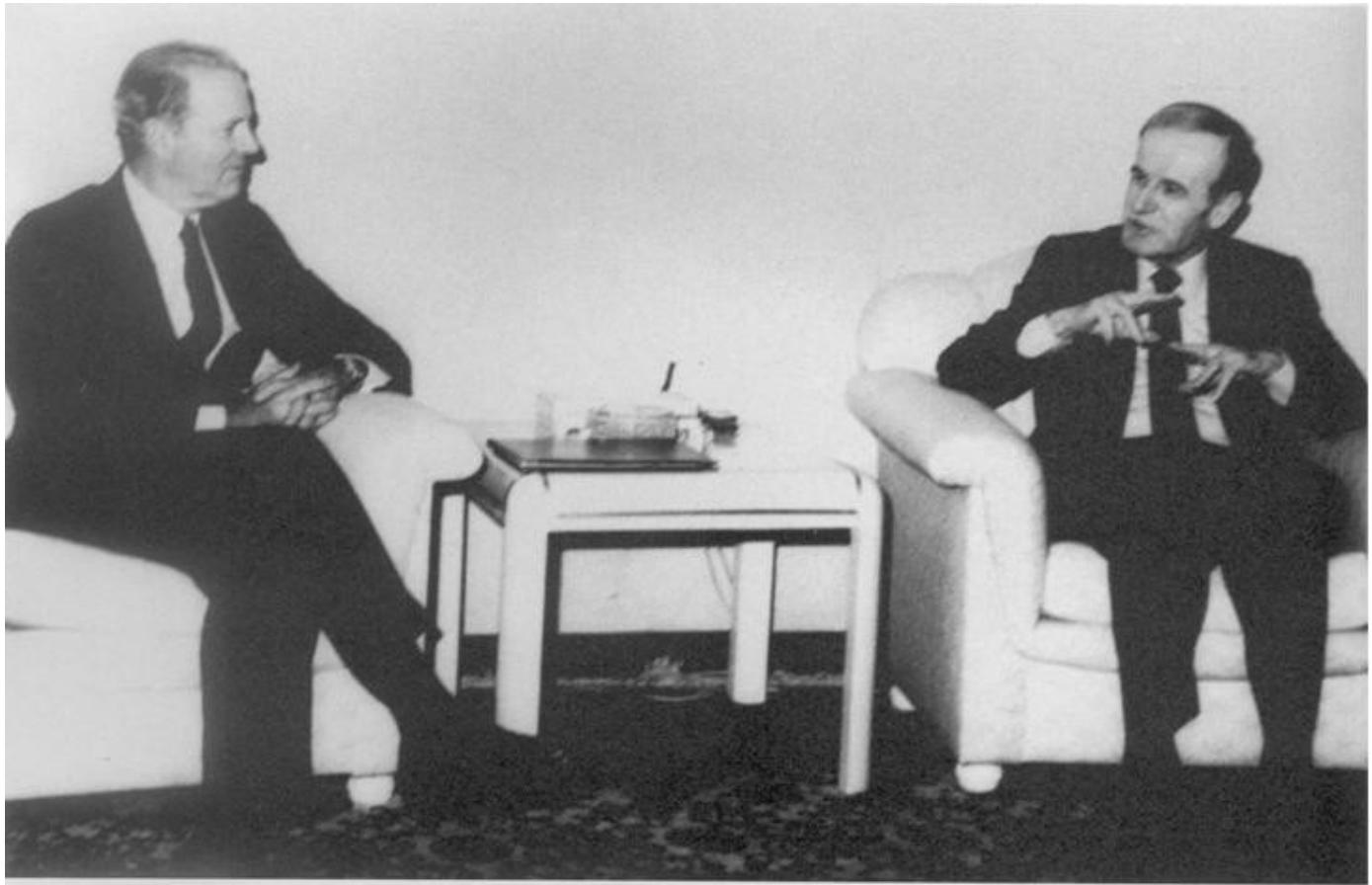
President George H.W. Bush holds an emergency meeting with Secretary of State James A. Baker III (left), Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (right), and National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft (rear) at the White House on January 17, 1991, the day after Bush ordered the U.S. military to launch its first attack on Iraq during the Persian Gulf War, also known as Operation Desert Storm. (Jean Louis Atlan/Sygma/Corbis)



President George Bush advises the Emir of Kuwait, Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jabir Al-Sabah, during a meeting in the Oval Office on September 28, 1990. (Photo: George Bush Presidential Library)



President George Bush and the Emir of Kuwait, Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jabir Al-Sabah, wave to a crowd on Pennsylvania Avenue on September 28, 1990. (Photo: George Bush Presidential Library)



ABOVE: With President Assad of Syria, January 13, 1991. Another marathon Secretary of State James A. Baker III listens to Syrian terrorist Hafez Assad. This photo was published by James A. Baker III in his book *The Politics of Diplomacy*.



Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz (left) and American Secretary of State James Baker shake hands before their Geneva conference in Geneva, Switzerland on January 9, 1991 concerning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. (Reuters/CORBIS)



American military commanders and senior government officials pose for a group photo in December 1990 prior to the beginning of the Persian Gulf War. Top row: Lt. Gen. Boomer, Lt. Gen. Horner, Lt. Gen. Yeosock, Vice-Adm. Arthur, Col. Johnson. Seated: Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Paul Wolfowitz, Gen. Colin Powell (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, Lt. Gen. Waller, Maj. Gen. Johnston. Wolfowitz, Powell, and Cheney are members of the Council on Foreign Relations.



One of Saddam Hussein's opulent presidential palaces near Baghdad, Iraq. The United Nations, at the request of the George H.W. Bush administration, imposed an oil embargo and a no-fly zone on Iraq following the "end" of the first Persian Gulf War. President Bill Clinton ordered the bombing of Baghdad in December 1998 shortly after the U.S. House of Representatives impeached him.

## Operation Desert Storm (1991)



Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell briefs National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, President George Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle, and Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney at the White House.



Paul Wolfowitz, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (right) takes notes while Gen. Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, Jr., Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Central Command, listen to Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney answer questions from the media at a press conference in February 1991. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



President of the United States George H.W. Bush meets with his advisers (from left to right) Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Colin Powell, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, Vice President Dan Quayle, National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, and John Sununu at Camp David in Thurmont, Maryland, U.S.A. on January 19, 1991 during the Persian Gulf War. (White House/Sygma/Corbis)



President George H.W. Bush meets in the White House with Gen. Colin Powell (far left), Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (third from left), Secretary of State James A. Baker III (third from right), Robert Gates (far right), and other top officials during Operation Desert Storm (Persian Gulf War) on February 13, 1991. (CORBIS)



Map of ground operations of Operation Desert Storm from February 24-28th 1991. Shows allied and Iraqi forces. Special arrows indicate the American 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne division moved by air and where the French 6<sup>th</sup> light division and American 3<sup>rd</sup> Armored Cavalry Regiment provided security



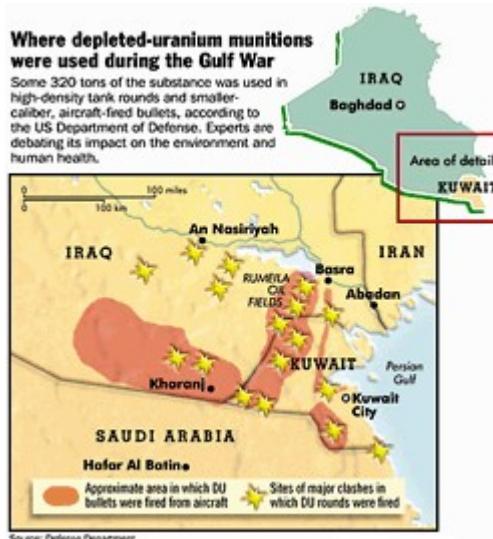
Israeli troops and police stand near one of the buildings hit by an Iraqi Scud missile in Tel Aviv, Israel on Tuesday, January 22, 1991. At least 60 people were injured in the attack. No further details can be given due to censorship.

(Photo: [http://www.allposters.com/-sp/Gulf-War-1991-Israel-Iraqi-Scud-Missiles-Attack-Posters\\_i9075965\\_.htm](http://www.allposters.com/-sp/Gulf-War-1991-Israel-Iraqi-Scud-Missiles-Attack-Posters_i9075965_.htm))



Highway of Death in Iraq in 1991

The Highway of Death refers to a road between Kuwait and Basra on which retreating units of the Iraqi army and Palestinian Arab militiamen [terrorists] were attacked and completely destroyed by American aircraft and ground forces during the United Nations Coalition offensive in the Persian Gulf War, on the night of February 26-27, 1991, resulting in the destruction of hundreds of vehicles and the deaths of an unknown and disputed number of Iraqi soldiers and some civilians. The scenes of carnage on the road are some of the most recognizable images of the war. The Highway of Death is known officially as Highway 80, and it runs from Kuwait City to the border towns of Abdali (Kuwait) and Safwan (Iraq), and then on to Basra. The road was repaired during the late 1990s, and was used in the initial stages of the 2003 invasion of Iraq by U.S. and British forces.



# What is depleted uranium?

Depleted uranium is a byproduct of the process of making enriched uranium. The technology isolates the uranium-235 needed for nuclear reactors and warheads and discards uranium-238 (depleted uranium).

## Centrifuge process

Natural uranium ore is ground, treated and converted into a gas.

The uranium gas is pumped into a cylinder that rotates at twice the speed of sound.

The heavier of the two isotopes, **uranium-238**, is drawn against the sides of the centrifuge cylinder . . .

. . . separating it from the lighter **uranium-235**.

The uranium passes through hundreds of centrifuges to refine it further. A single centrifuge cylinder is typically 6 feet tall and a few inches in diameter.

The centrifuge process creates 11% enriched uranium (235) and 89% depleted uranium (238)

## Use of depleted uranium in munitions

Depleted uranium's density and hardness also make it a choice for weapons to tear through enemy targets and burst into flames on contact. Scientists worry that battlefield remnants of depleted uranium could cause health problems in both U.S. military personnel and Iraqi civilians.



Rounds fired by the M-1 Abrams tanks, for example, contain about 9 pounds of depleted uranium. As the weapons pierce armor, small bits of depleted uranium ignite.



M-1 Abrams tank



Depleted uranium penetrator with stabilizing fins

## Exposure to depleted uranium

U.S. military sources say the effectiveness of weapons and armor made with depleted uranium outweighs the risks of exposure. Opponents disagree. There are three ways people could become exposed to depleted uranium in areas where it has been used in combat:



### Ingestion

If drinking water or food became contaminated with depleted uranium or if children eat affected soil.



### Inhalation

Small particles of depleted uranium could be inhaled if disturbed and lifted into the air or carried in the wind.

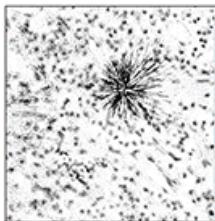


### Skin contact

It could enter the blood through open wounds or from embedded depleted uranium shrapnel.

## Cancer risk

Fears of cancer from exposure to depleted uranium are related to its radioactivity. The black star at left shows tracks made over 48 hours by alpha rays emitted by a radioactive particle lodged in an ape's lung tissue. (The particle is invisible.) Damaged cells can become cancerous.



News-Journal

SOURCES: Associated Press; ccrn.org



Victims of depleted uranium and the Gulf War Syndrome

"The memory hole also devoured recollections of how the first President George Bush had used propaganda and lies to excite the American public to support an earlier war with Iraq. In October 1990, a new entity calling itself the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, but in reality a creation of the public relations powerhouse Hill and Knowlton, held hearings in order to substantiate claims of Iraqi human rights violations. The committee heard a particularly moving testimony from a fifteen-year-old Kuwaiti girl, Nayirah, who described the horrors she witnessed in a Kuwait City hospital: "while I was there, I saw the Iraqi soldiers come into the hospital with guns, and go into the room where babies were in incubators. They took the babies out of the incubators, took the incubators, and left the babies on the cold floor to die." The media gave the story major play. Poppy used it to help justify the war that would begin three months later. It turned out, however, that the girl was actually a member of the Kuwaiti royal family – the daughter of Saud Nasir al-Sabah, Kuwait's ambassador to the United States. The vice president of Hill and Knowlton had even coached Nayirah, whose entire testimony was eventually deemed false by investigators."

– *Family of Secrets* by Russ Baker, p. 437



Oil fields burning in Kuwait during the Persian Gulf War



The U.S. government under presidents George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush ordered every military servicemen (men and women) to receive anthrax and smallpox vaccinations. The side effects from these mandatory vaccinations remain uncertain.



United States Air Force F-16A Fighting Falcons and F-15C and F-15E Eagles of the 4th Fighter Wing fly over oil fires in Kuwait, set by the retreating Iraqi army, during Operation Desert Storm (Persian Gulf War I) on February 27, 1991. Operation Desert Storm began on January 17, 1991. (Photo: [United States Air Force](#))



Left photo: American soldiers wore gas masks and chemical protective suits (MOPP suits) during Operation Desert Storm (Persian Gulf War).



Right photo: American soldiers sit atop a M1A1 Abrams tank during the Persian Gulf War.



American military personnel sift through the remains of a warehouse in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia on February 26, 1991. The warehouse was hit by an Iraqi Scud missile on February 25, 1991, killing 27 U.S. Army Reserve personnel and wounding 100 others during Operation Desert Storm. The building housed the 475th Quartermaster Group (Provisional).

(Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



United States Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney responds to questions from the media while taking part in a press conference held by U.S. and Saudi Arabian officials during Operation Desert Storm on February 1, 1991. Seated in the background are (from left to right): U.S. Army Gen. Colin Powell (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff); U.S. Army Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf (Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Central Command), Paul D. Wolfowitz (Under Secretary of Defense for Policy), and Pete Williams (Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs). (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney (left) meets with Prince Sultan, the Saudi Arabian Minister of Defense and Aviation, in Saudi Arabia on December 1, 1990. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



U.S. Army General Colin Powell, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, talks to U.S. Army Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, the Commander of U.S. Central Command, while President George H.W. Bush talks to Prime Minister of Great Britain John Major on the phone on February 27, 1991. From left to right: Gen. Colin Powell, John Sununu, CIA Director Robert M. Gates, George Bush, and Brent Scowcroft. Everyone in the room except for Sununu is or was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: [George Bush Presidential Library](#))



President George Bush meets with Saudi Arabian Ambassador to the United States Prince Bandar in the Oval Office on February 28, 1991. (Photo: George Bush Presidential Library)



Left to right: Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General Colin Powell, and Desert Storm Commander Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf wave from the reviewing stand after they led a ticker tape parade through the streets of New York City on June 10, 1991. ([AP Photo/Amy Sancetta](#))



U.S. Congressman Bill Richardson (D-New Mexico) visits Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein in Baghdad, Iraq on July 16, 1995. (File Photo) [http://blog.washingtonpost.com/the-trail/2007/07/26/richardson\\_ill\\_meet\\_dictators.html](http://blog.washingtonpost.com/the-trail/2007/07/26/richardson_ill_meet_dictators.html)



On the steps of the British Embassy following a luncheon, Prime Minister of Great Britain John Major laughs with (from left) U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills, Saudi Prince Bandar Bin Sultan, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Colin Powell. In the background, behind John Major, is U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. Brady, Hills, Cheney, and Powell are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Rogers Photo Archive)

## THE “NO-FLY ZONE” ERA (1991-2003)



United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan meets with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz during the World Summit on Sustainable Development conference in Johannesburg, South Africa on September 3, 2002. ([United Nations Photo](#))



United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan (left) greets Iraqi Dictator Saddam Hussein at the Republican Palace on February 22, 1998. ([United Nations Photo](#))



United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan (left) and Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz (right) sign a memorandum of understanding of issue of weapons inspection in Baghdad, Iraq on February 23, 1998. (© Rick Maiman/Sygma/Corbis)



Tariq Aziz (left) visits French President Jacques Chirac in Paris on May 14, 1998. (Pascal Le Segretain/Sygma/Corbis)



United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan (right) shakes hands with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz during a meeting at the United Nations in New York City in October 1998. (AP Photo)

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/picturegalleries/worldnews/8087607/In-pictures-Tariq-Aziz-Saddam-Husseins-deputy-is-sentenced-to-death-by-the-Iraqi-Supreme-Court.html?image=6>



Left photo: Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz (left) visits Russia's President Vladimir Putin in Moscow in July 2000.  
Right photo: Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein embraces Venezuela's ruler Hugo Chavez.



Defense Secretary William S. Cohen is seen walking with Saudi Prince Saud al-Faisal (left) and Saudi Ambassador to the U.S. Prince Bandar (second from left) on February 26, 1997. (Photo: [William S. Cohen Papers at University of Maine](#))



Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin (left) meets with Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdallah at Blair House in Washington, D.C. on September 25, 1998. (Paul J. Richards/AFP/Getty Images)



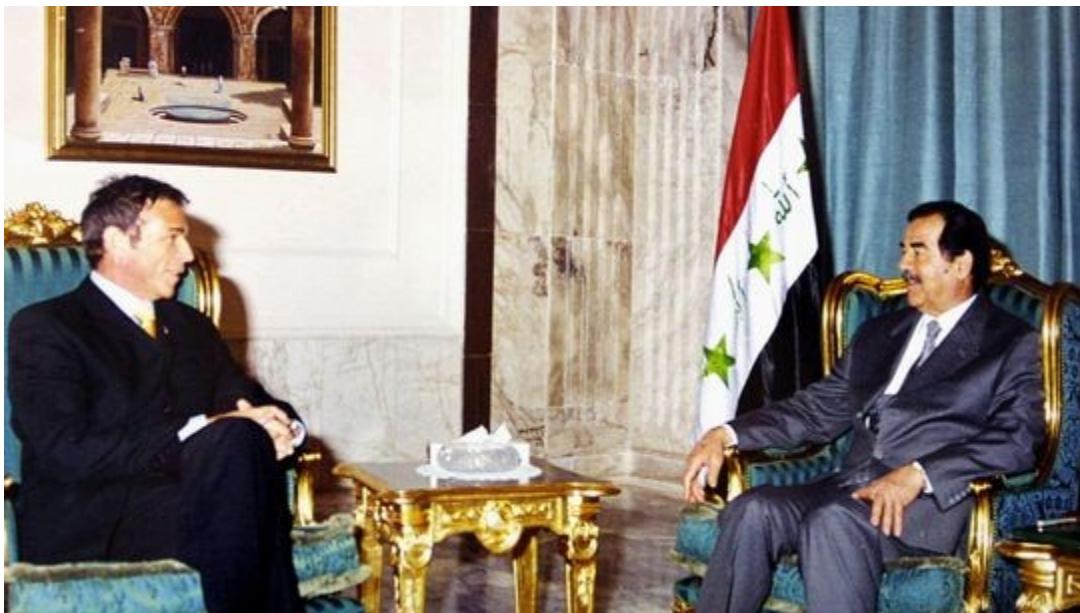
Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen (left) walks with Crown Prince Abdallah bin Abd al-Aziz Al Saud (right) following their meeting in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia on November 3, 1998. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld (left) escorts Prince Bandar Bin Sultan Bin Abdul Aziz (right), the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the U.S., into the Pentagon for a meeting on February 5, 2001. (Photo by R. D. Ward, U.S. Department of Defense)



Venezuela's President Hugo Chavez, front right, walks with President of Iraq Saddam Hussein at Saddam airport in Baghdad, Iraq on August 11, 2000. Chavez, the first national leader to visit Iraq since the Gulf War in 1991, was leaving the country after a short visit as part of a tour of OPEC countries. (AP Photo/INA, Pool)



Saddam Hussein meets with Austrian politician Joerg Haider (left) in Baghdad, Iraq.



Venezuela's President Hugo Chavez (left) meets with Iraq's ruler Saddam Hussein in Baghdad, Iraq in August 10-11, 2000.



Iraqi President Saddam Hussein (right) drives his car with Venezuela's President Hugo Chavez as his passenger in Baghdad, Iraq on August 10, 2000. Chavez arrived in Iraq from Iran, as the first head of state to visit Iraq since the 1991 Persian Gulf War. (AFP)



Iraqi President Saddam Hussein (center) listens to Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz (left) in Baghdad, Iraq on September 4, 2001 as he presents him a model of a monument dedicated to the some 400 people who died in the Gulf War allied bombing of the Amriya shelter which will be built in Baghdad. (© INA/epa/Corbis)



Left: B-2 stealth bombers were used periodically to enforce the United Nations-mandated "No-Fly Zone" against Iraq.  
Right: The United Nations-mandated "No-Fly Zone"



United States Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld shares a laugh with U.S. Air Force Gen. Richard B. Meyers (left), Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and U.S. Senator Carl Levin (D-Michigan) following their presentation of the fiscal year 2003 Defense Budget to the Senate Armed Services Committee in Washington, D.C. on February 5, 2002. (Photo: Martin H. Simon/Corbis)



United States Secretary of State Colin Powell (left), U.S. President George W. Bush (2nd left), and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice (2nd right) share a laugh at a NATO summit in Prague, Czech Republic on November 21, 2002. The November 2002 meeting welcomed seven formerly communist nations as members, all pledging to help fight the war in terrorism. United States Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld is seated on the far right. **Donald Rumsfeld attended the 2002 Bilderberg Meetings in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. held from Thursday, May 30, 2002 to Sunday, June 2, 2002.** (Photo: Brooks Kraft/CORBIS)



United States President George W. Bush (center) looks up during the North Atlantic Council Summit in Prague, Czech Republic on November 21, 2002. NATO leaders agreed Thursday to set up a strike force for high-intensity warfare and pledged to rebuild military capabilities to tackle new security threats, including terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Seated with Bush are National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice (left), White House Chief of Staff Andy Card (rear left), and U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (right). (Photo: Reuters/CORBIS)



President George W. Bush (left), Secretary of State Colin Powell (2<sup>nd</sup> left), National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice (2<sup>nd</sup> right), and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (right) strike different poses as they listen to remarks at the afternoon session of the NATO summit in Prague, Czech Republic on November 21, 2002. (Photo: Reuters/Kevin Lamarque)

## Persian Gulf War, Part 2: Invasion and Occupation of Iraq (2003)



Secretary of State Colin Powell addresses the United Nations Security Council on the case for going to war against Iraq on February 5, 2003.



United States President George W. Bush meets with his advisers in the White House Situation Room in 2003. Back row, upper left corner: U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft, Stephen Hadley, Alberto Gonzalez, and Scooter Libby. Clockwise at the conference table beginning with President George W. Bush: Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Richard Myers, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice (back of head), CIA Director George Tenet, and White House Chief of Staff Andrew Card. Hadley, Libby, Powell, Myers, Rice, and Tenet are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. Donald Rumsfeld is a former member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



U.S. Air Force engages in a "Shock and Awe" bombing campaign on Baghdad, Iraq on the second day of war on March 21, 2003.  
(Olivier Coret/Corbis)



United States Army Major General Stanley McChrystal smiles as a reporter asks him whether the United States has any more "shock and awe" in its arsenal for use in the war in Iraq as McChrystal takes questions from reporters at the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. on March 22, 2003. McChrystal said that U.S. forces will continue to use major munitions on selected targets to accomplish their military goals. Stanley McChrystal is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, an internationalist organization in New York City. (REUTERS/CORBIS)



Prime Minister of Great Britain Tony Blair (left) shakes hands with American President George W. Bush after they conclude a joint news conference at Camp David, Maryland on March 27, 2003 (White House Photo)



Prime Minister of Great Britain Tony Blair (left) meets with United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan at the United Nations headquarters in New York City on March 27, 2003. (Reuters/Jeff Christensen)



At an Iraq war briefing at the Pentagon with Paul Wolfowitz and Vice President Cheney on April 8, 2003, the day before the liberation of Baghdad. Behind Cheney are (from right to left): I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, the vice president's chief of staff; Ryan Henry, my principal deputy; Paul McHale, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense. Behind them is Bill Luti, then Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for the Near East and South Asia. (*Robert D. Ward/Courtesy of the Department of Defense*)

Douglas Feith (left), the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, listens as Vice President Dick Cheney (right) talks to Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (center) at the Pentagon on April 8, 2003. Dick Cheney's chief of staff Lewis "Scooter" Libby is seated between Cheney and Wolfowitz. Feith, Cheney, Wolfowitz, and Libby are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo by Robert D. Ward/U.S. Department of Defense)

(Source: *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism* by Douglas J. Feith)

"The oil revenues of that country [Iraq] could bring between \$50 and \$100 billion over the course of the next two or three years. Now, there are a lot of claims on that money, but ... We are dealing with a country [Iraq] that can really finance its own reconstruction and relatively soon."

— Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, in his testimony to the U.S. House of Representatives Appropriations Committee on March 27, 2003



**With National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State Colin Powell, and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. Rice tried—not always successfully—to create interagency harmony by blending the policy positions of State and Defense.** (AP Photos/Charles Dharapak)

Douglas Feith (left), the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, chats with Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, and Secretary of State Colin Powell. All four individuals are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (AP Photos/Charles Dharapak)

(Source: *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism* by Douglas J. Feith)

corbis.



An unidentified American soldier watches as a statue of Iraq's despot President Saddam Hussein falls in central Baghdad, Iraq on April 9, 2003. U.S. troops pulled down a 20-foot (six meter) high statue of President Saddam Hussein in central Baghdad on Wednesday and Iraqis danced on it in contempt for the man who ruled them with an iron grip for 24 years. (REUTERS/CORBIS/Goran Tomasevic)



Iraq's dictator President Saddam Hussein (center) is flanked by his two sons Uday (left) and Qusay (right) in a photo released by the Iraqi government on December 13, 1996. The search for Saddam Hussein drew fresh momentum on July 22, 2003 after American soldiers killed Uday and Qusay in a fierce six-hour gun battle in northern Iraq. (REUTERS/CORBIS/Iraqi News Agency)



U.S. Army captures deposed Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein near Tikrit, Iraq on December 14, 2003. (U.S. Army photo)



Left photo: Iraqi Governing Council member Ahmad Chalabi (L) visits Saddam Hussein in his cell on December 14, 2003, hours after his capture by American Army soldiers near his home town of Tikrit, in northern Iraq. (AFP PHOTO/AL-MUTAMAR)

Right photo: A frame grab from Iraqi state television shows a noose being placed around former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's neck on December 30, 2006. Hussein was hanged for crimes against humanity at dawn on Saturday, a dramatic, violent end for a leader who ruled Iraq by fear for three decades before he was toppled by a U.S. invasion in 2003. [Reuters/Iraqi State Television]



Saddam Hussein, the former dictator of Iraq, testifies in court.



Saddam Hussein, the former dictator of Iraq, testifies in court in Iraq.



Saddam Hussein, the former dictator of Iraq, awaits his fate inside an Iraqi court.



President of the United States George W. Bush (right) introduces longtime State Department official L. Paul Bremer (center), who is being appointed to be the civil administrator in Iraq, at the White House on May 6, 2003 while U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (left) looks on. (© Brooks Kraft/Corbis)



In this handout photo, Prime Minister Tony Blair (center) walks with Commander British Forces Major General Peter Wall (left) and L. Paul Bremer, the Ambassador to the Coalition Authority, at Basra Airport in Basra, Iraq on May 29, 2003. (Photo: Getty Images)



U.S Ambassador to Iraq Paul Bremer looks out over the port of Umm Qasr while on a visit to the port in southern Iraq on May 25, 2003. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) announced today that the Iraqi seaport of Umm Qasr, which is the main entryway for cargo and humanitarian aid, is now under civilian administration. (Photo: Getty Images)



Paul Bremer (2<sup>nd</sup> right), the U.S. civil administrator for Iraq, talks with Jathare Al Kashab, General Manager of oil production at the Daura Oil Refinery, during a tour of the refinery in Baghdad, Iraq on June 3, 2003. (Photo: Marco Di Lauro/Getty Images)



U.S. President George W. Bush (3rd left) pointing to the podium after a group photograph with Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak (3rd R), Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah (2nd left), Jordan's King Abdullah II (left), Bahrain's King Hamad (2nd right) and Prime Minister of "Palestine" Mahmoud Abbas (right) at the Four Seasons resort in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt on June 3, 2003. (Luke Frazza/AFP/Getty Images)



President George W. Bush makes a statement in the Rose Garden at the White House in Washington, D.C. on July 23, 2003. From left to right: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Gen. Richard B. Myers, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Bush, and U.S. Administrator in Iraq Paul Bremer. (Reuters/Larry Downing)



Ambassador Paul Bremer (left), Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority; U.S. Central Commander General John Abizaid (center), and Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (right) speak prior to testifying before the House Armed Services Committee on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. on September 25, 2003. The committee was hearing testimony on U.S. policy and operations in Iraq. The man seated in the background is Air Force Gen. Norton Schwartz. Bremer, Abizaid, Wolfowitz, and Schwartz are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: Mark Wilson/Getty Images)



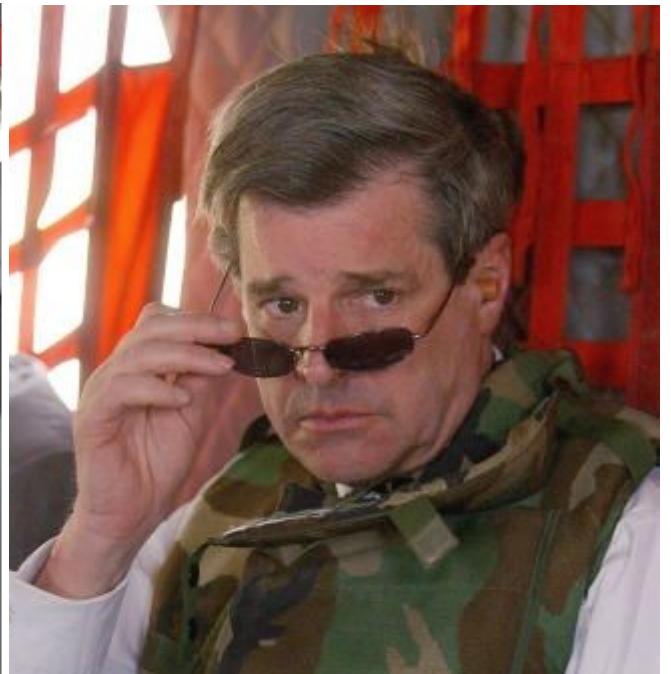
Army Gen. John Abizaid, Commander of U.S. Central Command, talks to Paul Bremer and U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld in Iraq on December 6, 2003. (Photo: [U.S. Department of Defense](#))



With Ambassador L. Paul Bremer, whom President Bush appointed to lead civilian reconstruction efforts in Iraq in May 2003. Some of Bremer's key decisions have been criticized unfairly. Nevertheless, his decision to set aside the Iraqi Interim Authority plan in favor of a protracted occupation contributed to the difficulties we faced in Iraq. (Lauren Haber)

Douglas Feith, the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, talks to L. Paul Bremer, the U.S. Pro-Consul to Iraq. Douglas Feith and Paul Bremer are members of the Council on Foreign Relations.

(Source: *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism* by Douglas J. Feith)



Paul Bremer, the viceroy of Iraq, talks to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.



Commander of U.S. Central Command Gen. John Abizaid (wearing a military uniform), Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (center), and Paul Bremer, Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, eat doughnuts and cupcakes at a party inside Bremer's office in Baghdad, Iraq. (Photo: Karren Ballard/Redux)

(Source: *My Year in Iraq: The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* by L. Paul Bremer III (with Malcolm McConnell))



U.S. Army Major General David Petraeus, Commander of 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division, is seen talking to Paul Bremer in Iraq. Both men are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Roberto Schmidt/Reuters)

(Source: *My Year in Iraq: The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* by L. Paul Bremer III (with Malcolm McConnell))



Meeting with the Governing Council (*left to right*): Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez, Bremer, General John Abizaid, Ahmad Chalabi, Akila Hashimi

(Photo: J. Scott Carpenter/CPA)

(Source: *My Year in Iraq: The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* by L. Paul Bremer III (with Malcolm McConnell))



U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell (right) appears with Iyad Allawi (center), President of the U.S.-Appointed Iraqi Governing Council, and Paul Bremer (left), the top U.S. official in Iraq, at a Conference in Madrid, Spain on October 23, 2003. (© PAUL HANNA/Reuters/Corbis)



Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (center) is escorted by Army Gen. David H. Petraeus (right), Commander of U.S. Army 101st Airborne Division, as they walk through the streets of **Mosul, Iraq** on July 21, 2003. **Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's two sons Uday Hussein and Qusay Hussein died in a firefight in Mosul, Iraq** on July 22, 2003. Paul Wolfowitz and Gen. David H. Petraeus are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. **Paul Wolfowitz attended the 2003 Bilderberg Meetings held in Versailles, France from 15-18 May 2003.** ([AP Photo/U.S. Department of Defense](#))



U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell (R) and the top U.S.-appointed Coalition Provisional Authority civil administrator L. Paul Bremer speak with reporters during a press conference on September 14, 2003 in Baghdad, Iraq. Powell arrived in Iraq from Geneva on Sunday morning for a first-hand look at the progress of the rebuilding effort, and is the highest ranking U.S. government figure to visit Iraq thus far. (Photo: Scott Nelson/Getty Images)



World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn (left) speaks to members of the interim Iraqi Governing Council in Baghdad, Iraq on July 30, 2003, **eight days after the deaths of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's two sons Uday and Qusay**. From left to right: James Wolfensohn, United Nations special envoy Sergio Vieira de Mello, Iraqi National Congress leader Ahmed Chalabi, Shiite council member Akila Hashemi, tribal chief council member Abdul Karim al-Mohammadi, Mohsen Abdul-Hamid, secretary-general of the Iraqi Muslim Brotherhood, Iraqi Shiite Ayatollah Mohammed Bahrul Uloom. The Iraqi Governing Council elected member Ibarahim Jafari as the first rotating president of the 25 member body. (Karim Sahib/AFP/Getty Images)



Secretary of State Colin Powell (left), U.S. overseer in Iraq Paul Bremer (center), and World Bank President James Wolfensohn pose at the Congress Palace in Madrid, Spain on October 23, 2003, during an international conference of donors for Iraq. All three men in this photo are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Javier Soriano/AFP/Getty Images)



World Bank President James Wolfensohn (left) and Paul Bremer, the U.S. overseer of Iraq, walk together at Bremer's headquarters in Baghdad on July 30, 2003. (Karim Sahib/AFP/Getty Images)



Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III, the U.S. presidential envoy to Iraq (center) greets United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan (left) at the United Nations headquarters in New York City on January 19, 2004. Bremer is seeking a way to get the United Nations back in Iraq. Standing left is Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Bremer's British counterpart. (Photo: Stephen Chernin/Getty Images)



U.S. Administrator L. Paul Bremer shakes hands as he passes over documents to Iraqi chief justice Mahdi al-Mahmood (left), transferring national sovereignty to Iraq at a ceremony in Baghdad, Iraq on June 28, 2004, as Prime Minister of Iraq Iyad Allawi (center) looks on. (Photo: Getty Images)



Flanked by security officers, U.S. Administrator Paul Bremer (2<sup>nd</sup> right) walks with interim Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq Dr. Barhim Salih (left) as he boards an Air Force plane at Baghdad International Airport for his flight out of Iraq on June 28, 2004. Earlier Bremer attended a ceremony officially transferring sovereignty to the interim Iraqi government. (Photo: Getty Images)



Paul Bremer (L), the American civil administrator of Iraq, and a Shiite notable stand at the compound of the University for Humanities, Science and Theological Studies in Hilla, Iraq on June 27, 2004, about 100 kilometers south of Baghdad. (Photo: Pool/Getty Images)



Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III, the U.S. presidential envoy to Iraq (C) turns toward United States Representative to the United Nations John Negroponte (left) as British envoy to Iraq Sir Jeremy Greenstock (2<sup>nd</sup> right) and British UN ambassador Emry Jones Parry (right) sit at the table before a meeting between the Iraqi Governing Council, the United Nations, and the Coalition Provisional Authority at UN Headquarters in New York City on January 19, 2004. Bremer is seeking a way to get the United Nations back in Iraq. (Photo: Stephen Chernin/Getty Images)



U.S. Ambassador to Iraq John Negroponte (R) presents his printed credentials and greets Iraqi President Ghazi al-Yawer (L) and Iraqi Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari in Baghdad, Iraq on June 29, 2004. (Pool/Getty Images)



U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte (C) and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker (L) meet with President of Iraq Jalal Talabani in Baghdad, Iraq on June 12, 2007. (Pool/Getty Images)



Iraqi Governing Council members pose with U.S. President George W. Bush (center) at the Baghdad International Airport on November 27, 2003. From left to right are, Dr. Mowaffar Al-Robaire, Dr. Raja Habib Khuzai, Bush, Dr. Jalal Talabani, and Dr. Ahmad Chalabi. Ahmad Chalabi attended the 2006 Bilderberg Meetings in Ottawa, Canada in 2006. (Larry Downing/Reuters/Corbis)



Iraqi politician Ahmad Chalabi (left) and U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell smile for the camera.



Ahmad Chalabi meets with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (left) and Paul Bremer (right).



Ahmad Chalabi listens to Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (left) and former CIA Director R. James Woolsey (right). Paul Wolfowitz and R. James Woolsey are members of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Left photo: Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair (left) talks to U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad (right) in Iraq on December 22, 2005. (Photo: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in\\_pictures/4552972.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_pictures/4552972.stm))

Right photo: Ahmad Chalabi (left) listens to U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (center) and Paul Bremer (right).



Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld (left) conducts a meeting with Prime Minister of Iraq Ayad Allawi (second from right) on September 24, 2004. The two men sitting to the left of Rumsfeld are Gen. Richard Myers and Peter W. Rodman. Both Myers and Rodman are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. Donald Rumsfeld was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld responds to a senator's question during a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on American military presence in Iraq on June 23, 2005. U.S. Central Command Commander Gen. John Abizaid (left) and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Richard Myers (Rumsfeld's right) listen to Rumsfeld. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



President of Iraq Jalal Talabani (right) speaks with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (center), Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad (left) during a meeting in Baghdad, Iraq on April 26, 2006.  
(Photo by Mohammed Hato-Pool/Getty Images)



President of Iraq Jalal Talabani (left), Prime Minister of Iraq-designate Nouri al-Maliki (center), and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad speak with one another at a reception at the ambassador's private residence located in the heavily fortified Green Zone area in Baghdad, Iraq on May 18, 2006. Khalilzad hosted the reception and dinner in honor of outgoing Prime Minister of Iraq Ibrahim al-Jaafari. Khalilzad is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.  
(Photo by Marco Di Lauro/Getty Images)



Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice greets U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad at the Baghdad Airport on October 5, 2006. Condoleezza Rice and Zalmay Khalilzad are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. Rice is wearing a bulletproof vest. (Photo: [Josie Duckett/U.S. Department of State](#))



Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice meets with Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri al-Maliki in Baghdad on October 5, 2006. (Photo: [Josie Duckett/U.S. Department of State](#))



Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates (left) and Gen. John Abizaid, Commander of U.S. Central Command, arrive at an airport in Baghdad, Iraq on December 20, 2006. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



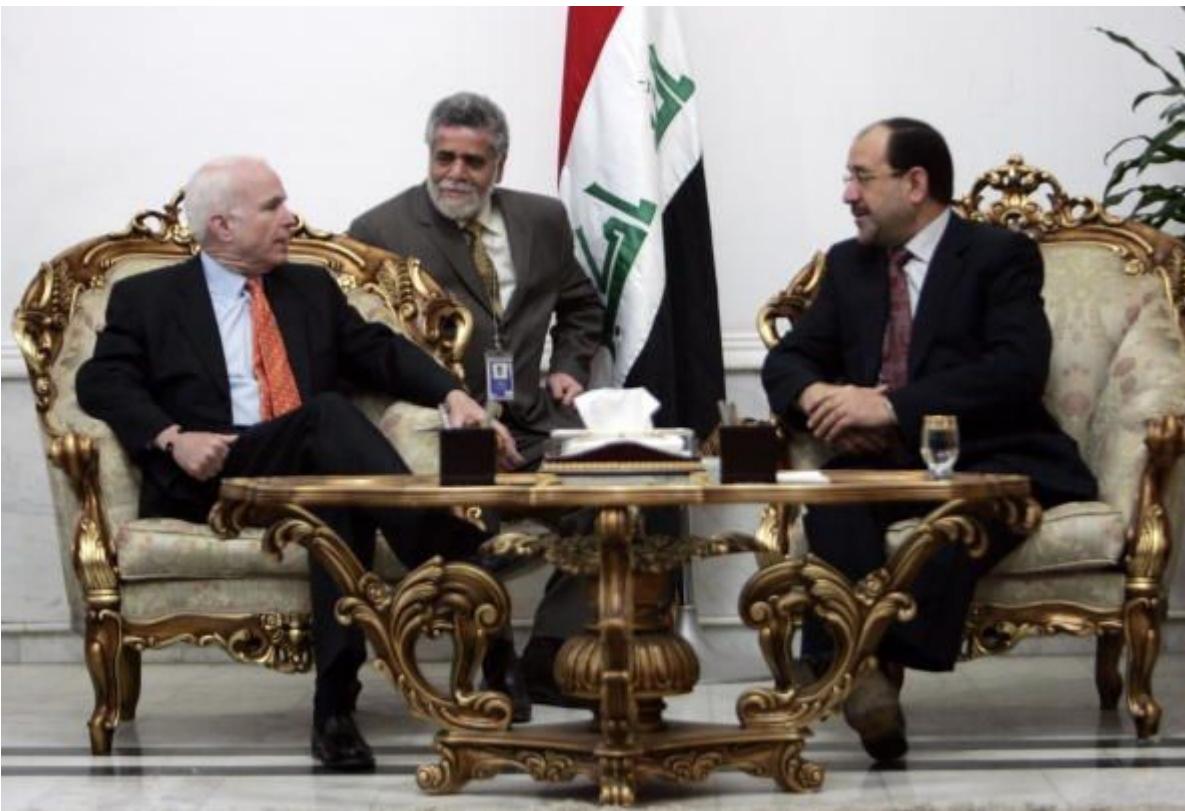
U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad (left) watches President George W. Bush shake hands with Iraqi President Jalal Talabani (right) during his visit on June 13, 2006, to the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad. Khalilzad was a member of the Project for the New American Century, a group that created plans for an endless war in the Middle East and Central Asia.



President George W. Bush shakes hands with U.S. Army General David Petraeus, the incoming Commander of the Multi-National Force-Iraq, in the Oval Office on January 26, 2007. General David Petraeus is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. ([White House photo by Eric Draper](#))



Vice President Dick Cheney (center) is greeted by Army Gen. David Petraeus, Commander of U.S. forces in Iraq, as he arrives at Baghdad International Airport on a surprise visit to Baghdad, Iraq on May 9, 2007. Dick Cheney and David Petraeus are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (AP Photo by Gerald Herbert)



Republican Party presidential candidate Senator John McCain (left) meets with Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki in Baghdad, Iraq on March 17, 2008. (Photo by Ceerwan Aziz/Pool/Getty Images)



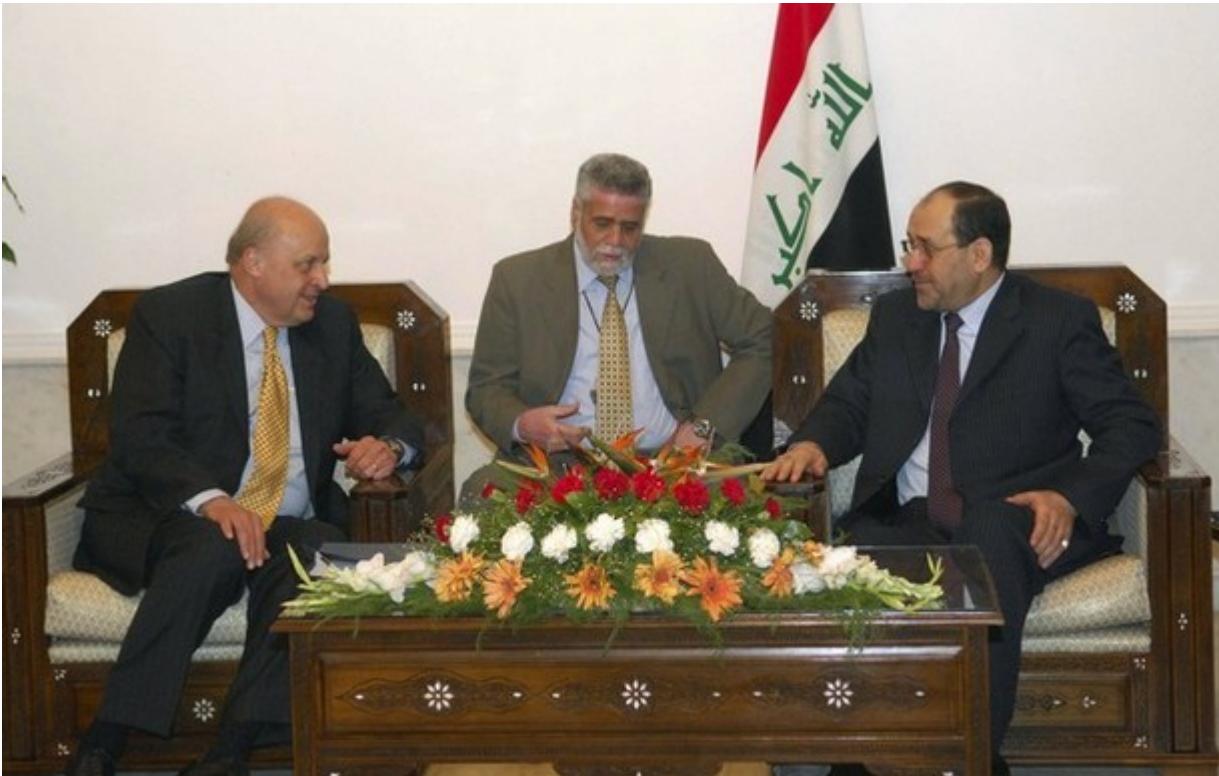
United States Senator Barack Obama (left), presidential candidate for the Democratic Party, shakes hands with Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki in Baghdad, Iraq on July 21, 2008. (AFP/Getty Images)



U.S. Commander in Iraq General David Petraeus (center) shares a laugh with visiting Democratic Party presidential candidate Barack Obama (left) and U.S. Senator Chuck Hagel during an aerial tour of Baghdad upon their arrival in Iraq on July 21, 2008. David Petraeus and Chuck Hagel are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Reuters)



United States Senator Ted Kennedy (left) watches U.S. Army Gen. David Petraeus (center), Commander of American forces in Iraq, shake hands with Republican Party presidential candidate United States Senator John McCain on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. on April 8, 2008. John McCain and Gen. David Petraeus are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Getty Images)



Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte (left) visits Iraq's Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki (right) in Baghdad, Iraq on October 5, 2008. ([Reuters](#))



President George W. Bush shakes hands with Iraq's Prime Minister Nouri Al-Maliki after their meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on September 25, 2007. ([White House photo by Eric Draper](#))



U.S. Army Gen. David Petraeus (left) and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker testify during a joint hearing of the House Armed Services Committee and the House Foreign Relations Committee on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. on September 10, 2007. Petraeus and Crocker delivered a report on progress made in Iraq since additional U.S. troops were sent to the nation earlier this year. Ryan Crocker joined the Council on Foreign Relations in 2010. Gen. Petraeus is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo by Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images News)



U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker (left) and U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice led a U.S. delegation to Kirkuk, Iraq on December 18, 2007 to speak with the governing leadership representing the Kurdish, Arab and Turkman political parties. (Photo: [U.S. Embassy in Iraq](#))



President George W. Bush meets with U.S. Army General David Petraeus (left), Commander of the Multi-National Force-Iraq, and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker (right) at the White House on Thursday, April 10, 2008. (White House photo by Eric Draper)



Presumptive Democratic presidential candidate Sen. Barack Obama (D-Illinois) (right) and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker (left) leave the office of Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki after a meeting in Baghdad, Iraq on July 21, 2008. Obama toured the war zones in Afghanistan the previous week to make evaluations and he plans to meet with the U.S. commander in Iraq Gen. David Petraeus. (Photo by Pool/Getty Images Europe)



Secretary of State Hillary Clinton appears with Prime Minister of Iraq al-Maliki in the Treaty Room at the State Department in Washington, D.C. on July 24, 2009. (Photo: [U.S. Department of State](#))



President George W. Bush (C) speaks to American troops as U.S. Army Lt. Gen. Ricardo S. Sanchez (L), commander of Coalition Joint Task Force-7, and Paul Bremer listen, during a surprise visit on Thanksgiving Day, November 27, 2003 in Baghdad, Iraq.



U.S. administrator for Iraq Paul Bremer (L) walks flanked with an unidentified bodyguard to attend a meeting in Mosul, Iraq on April 1, 2004. The Bush administration authorized mercenaries such as Blackwater to operate in Iraq. (Photo: Pool/Getty Images)



Then-Army Major General David H. Petraeus and the "high commissioner" to Iraq L. Paul Bremer III walks with an unidentified Iraqi man as a Blackwater mercenary is seen walking behind them. The Bush-Cheney administration authorized corporate mercenaries such as Blackwater, Vinnell, and Halliburton-Kellogg Brown and Root (KBR) to operate in Iraq with almost no oversight. (Photo: <http://www.troubling.info/archives/category/gw-bush-admin>)



U.S. civil administrator in Iraq Paul Bremer (2nd L) is escorted by personnel from U.S. security contractor Blackwater on his arrival at U.S. Army 82nd Airborne Division headquarters in Ramadi, Iraq in this March 11, 2004 file photo. Blackwater, which has received U.S. government contracts worth more than a billion dollars since 2001, is under intense scrutiny over its security work in Iraq, where its chief executive Erik Prince said the North Carolina firm had about 1,000 personnel. Blackwater defended its role in Iraq on October 2, 2007, but skeptical lawmakers took aim at the company over a series of incidents, including a September 16, 2007 shooting that killed 11 Iraqis. (Reuters)



Halliburton Company headquarters in Houston, Texas



Former U.S. Army General Tommy Franks (C) sits with former CIA director George Tenet (L) and former Iraqi administrator Paul Bremer (R) while President George W. Bush, not seen, makes introductory remarks during a ceremony to award the Presidential Medal of Freedom at the White House in Washington, D.C. on December 14, 2004. All three received the nation's highest civilian honor for their contribution to U.S. action in Iraq. George Tenet and Paul Bremer are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (© Kevin Lamarque/Reuters/Corbis)



President George W. Bush awards the Presidential Medal of Freedom to former CIA Director George Tenet (left), retired U.S. Army Gen. Tommy Franks (2nd left), who oversaw combat in Afghanistan and the initial invasion of Iraq, and former Iraq administrator L. Paul Bremer (right) in a ceremony in the East Room of the White House in Washington, D.C. on December 14, 2004. The medal is the nation's highest civilian honor and Bush is honoring three men who were central to his Iraq policy. (© Larry Downing/Reuters/Corbis)



Left to right: Iraq Study Group co-chairmen Lee Hamilton and James A. Baker III greet U.S. Senator John Warner (R-Virginia) and U.S. Senator Carl Levin (D-Michigan) before testifying at a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing in Washington, D.C. on December 7, 2006. The bi-partisan commission released their written report of their nine-month examination at the situation in Iraq. Lee Hamilton, James A. Baker III, and John Warner are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Jonathan Ernst/EPA/Corbis)



The Iraq Study Group, also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission, appear in front of a camera in 2006. From left to right: Lee Hamilton, William J. Perry, Edwin Meese III, Lawrence S. Eagleburger (seated), Alan Simpson, Leon Panetta (current CIA Director), Vernon E. Jordan, Charles Robb, Sandra Day O'Connor, and James A. Baker III. Meese, Simpson, and Baker are members of the Bohemian Grove. Hamilton, Perry, Eagleburger, Jordan, Robb, Baker, and O'Connor are or were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. This photo was published in the December 25, 2006 edition of TIME magazine. (Photograph for TIME by Ben Baker – Redux)



U.S. Army M1A1 Abrams MBT (Main Battle Tank), and personnel from A Company (CO), Task Force 1st Battalion, 35th Armor Regiment (1-35 Armor), 2nd Brigade Combat Team (BCT), 1st Armored Division (AD), pose for a photo under the "Hands of Victory" in Ceremony Square, Baghdad, Iraq during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. The Hands of Victory monument built at the end of the Iran-Iraq war marks the entrance to a large parade ground in central Baghdad. The hand and arm are modeled after former dictator Saddam Hussein's own and surrounded with thousands of Iranian helmets taken from the battlefield. The swords made for the guns of dead Iraqi soldiers, melted and recast into the 24-ton blades. (Photo: TSGT JOHN L. HOUGHTON JR., USAF)



Cranes litter the skyline as construction workers continue work on the new United States Embassy compound in Baghdad's fortified Green Zone on August 31, 2006 in Baghdad, Iraq. A new U.S. embassy is currently under construction in the Green Zone of Baghdad. The compound will be comprised of 21 buildings across 104 acres. Once completed, the new \$592-million U.S. embassy will likely be the biggest, most fortified diplomatic compound in the world. (Photo by Daniel Berehulak/Getty Images)



The Republican Palace in Baghdad, Iraq. The Bush administration spared the presidential palace during its shock and awe raid during the 2003 invasion of Iraq. (Flickr photo)



Republican Palace in Baghdad, Iraq (Flickr photo)



An aerial view of the Al Salam Presidential Palace in Baghdad, Iraq (Flickr photo)



(Released to Public) U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) photograph by ACoE photographer Jim Gordon of one of the gates leading to the Republican Palace at the International Zone (IZ) [Green Zone] in central Baghdad. (Photo: [Flickr/U.S. Army](#))

## Terrorism & Torture in Iraq



The “Canal Hotel Bombing” in Baghdad, Iraq occurred in the afternoon of August 19, 2003, killing 22 people, including the United Nations' Special Representative in Iraq Sérgio Vieira de Mello, and wounding over 100. The blast targeted the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq created just 5 days earlier. In the above photo, rescue workers search for victims at the United Nations Office of Humanitarian Coordinator Building in Baghdad, Iraq on August 22, 2003, after a truck bombing destroyed much of the building three days earlier. (U.S. Department of Defense photo/Msgt James M. Bowman, USAF)



A fuel tanker truck burns after being attacked by insurgents on the road to Fallujah near Fallujah, Iraq on April 8, 2004.  
(© Ali Haider/epa/Corbis)

corbis.



Iraqi Shi'ite supporters of cleric Moqtada al-Sadr celebrate near a burning U.S. Army truck in the Shuala neighborhood of Baghdad, Iraq on April 5, 2004. (© CEERWAN AZIZ/Reuters/Corbis)



Rescuers rush to the scene of one of three car bomb explosions in Basra, Iraq on April 21, 2004. At least 55 people were killed and 200 wounded when car bombs hit three police stations in the southern city of Basra, a Reuters reporter said. (Reuters/Corbis)

corbis.



Iraqi Shi'ite supporters of cleric Moqtada al-Sadr celebrate near a burning U.S. Army truck (1<sup>st</sup> Armored Division) in the Shula neighborhood of Baghdad, Iraq on April 5, 2004. (© CEERWAN AZIZ/Reuters/Corbis)



A U.S. Army tank burns after an attack on a highway junction in the Iraqi capital of Baghdad, Iraq on April 10, 2004. (© Akram Saleh/Reuters/Corbis)



Iraqis in Fallujah, Iraq burn a vehicle of an American security contractor during a protest in April 2004.  
(AFP/Getty Images) (Source: Newsweek, April 12, 2004, pp. 26-27)



Iraqis in Fallujah drag through the streets the charred body of an American security contractor in April 2004.  
(Reuters) (Source: Newsweek, April 12, 2004, pp. 26-27)



Dozens of Iraqis make their way through a checkpoint towards the city of Fallujah, Iraq on April 28, 2004. American military warplanes and artillery attacked Sunni insurgents trapped in a slum in a thunderous show of force that rocked Fallujah on April 27, sending huge plumes of black smoke into the night sky. (© Shawn Baldwin/Corbis)



Smoke comes out of wrecked cars after a suicide attacker detonated a car bomb outside a photocopy shop in Al-Jamiyah, Baghdad, Iraq, where Iraqi National Guard applicants were readying their papers before heading to a nearby recruiting center, Wednesday September 22, 2004. At least 6 died and 54 were wounded in the blast. (AP Photo/Hadi Mizban)



A video image on an Islamist internet site shows American hostage Eugene Armstrong prior to his execution (beheading) on September 20, 2004 by a group of terrorists working for al-Qaeda terrorist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Armstrong and two other individuals (an American and a British man) were kidnapped in Baghdad several days earlier. (The video showed the banner of Zarqawi's Tawhid and Jihad Group.). (REUTERS/Handout)



American soldiers run past dead Iraqi insurgents during a street battle in Samarra, Iraq in October 2004.  
(Photo: Max Becherer/Polaris; from Time, October 11, 2004, pp. 46-47)

“Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.” – Mao Tse-tung



A U.S. Marine stands next to the dead body of a suspected insurgent during the ground offensive in Fallujah, Iraq on November 9, 2004. The Second Battle of Fallujah (code-named Operation Al-Fajr (Arabic, "the dawn") and Operation Phantom Fury) lasted from November 7, 2004 to December 23, 2004.

(Photo: <http://incredibleimages4u.blogspot.com/2009/09/real-face-of-iraq-war-pain-and-violence.html>)



An air strike is called by the U.S. Marines in on a suspected insurgent hideout at the edge of Fallujah, Iraq on November 8, 2004. (United States Marine Corps photo)



An M-198 155mm Howitzer of the U.S. Marines Corps fire at Fallujah, Iraq, during the Second Battle of Fallujah on November 11, 2004 (Veteran's Day). (Photo: United States Marine Corps)



Iraqi Special Forces soldiers assigned to the 1st Marine Division of the U.S. Marine Corps patrol the streets of Fallujah on November 15, 2004. (Photo: United States Marine Corps)



An Iraqi woman walks past the site of Sunday's mortar attack in Baghdad, Iraq on November 27, 2006. According to the Iraqi police, two mortar attacks killed four civilians and injured five. (AP Photo/Hadi Mizban)



A group of Iraqi civilians in the foreground are critically wounded as a U.S. Army "Bradley" armored personnel carrier burns in the background. (Photo: <http://incredibleimages4u.blogspot.com/2009/09/real-face-of-iraq-war-pain-and-violence.html>)



An Iraqi boy who was wounded in a bomb attack waits for treatment in a hospital in Kirkuk, Iraq, about 250 km (155 miles) north of Baghdad, Iraq, on December 11, 2008. Iraqi police reported that a suicide bomber killed 46 people and wounded nearly 100 in a crowded restaurant near Iraq's ethnically mixed city of Kirkuk on December 11, 2008, shattering the calm during a major Muslim holiday. ([Reuters](#))



A U.S. Army transport truck blazes on a highway after an attack on the west side of the Iraqi capital of Baghdad, Iraq on **April 19, 2004**.  
(© Thaer al-Sudani/Reuters/Corbis)



U.S. President George W. Bush meets with U.S. Representative to the United Nations John Negroponte in the Oval Office of the White House in Washington, D.C. on **April 19, 2004**. George W. Bush named John Negroponte to be his ambassador to Iraq after "sovereignty" is restored to Iraq on June 30, 2004. George W. Bush and John Negroponte are graduates of Yale University. (© WILLIAM PHILPOTT/Reuters/Corbis)



Iraqi police officers stand at the site of car bomb explosion that destroyed the Ministry of Justice the day before on October 26, 2009 in Baghdad, Iraq. Two car bombs exploded on **October 25, 2009**, targeting the Baghdad Provincial Council and the Ministry of Justice, killing at least 136 people and injuring over 500, in the deadliest attack of its kind since August 2007. (Getty Images)



Iraq's President Jalal Talabani (right) smiles as he meets U.S. Army General David Petraeus (left), Commander of U.S. Central Command, during their meeting at al-Salam palace in Baghdad, Iraq on **October 25, 2009**. (Reuters)

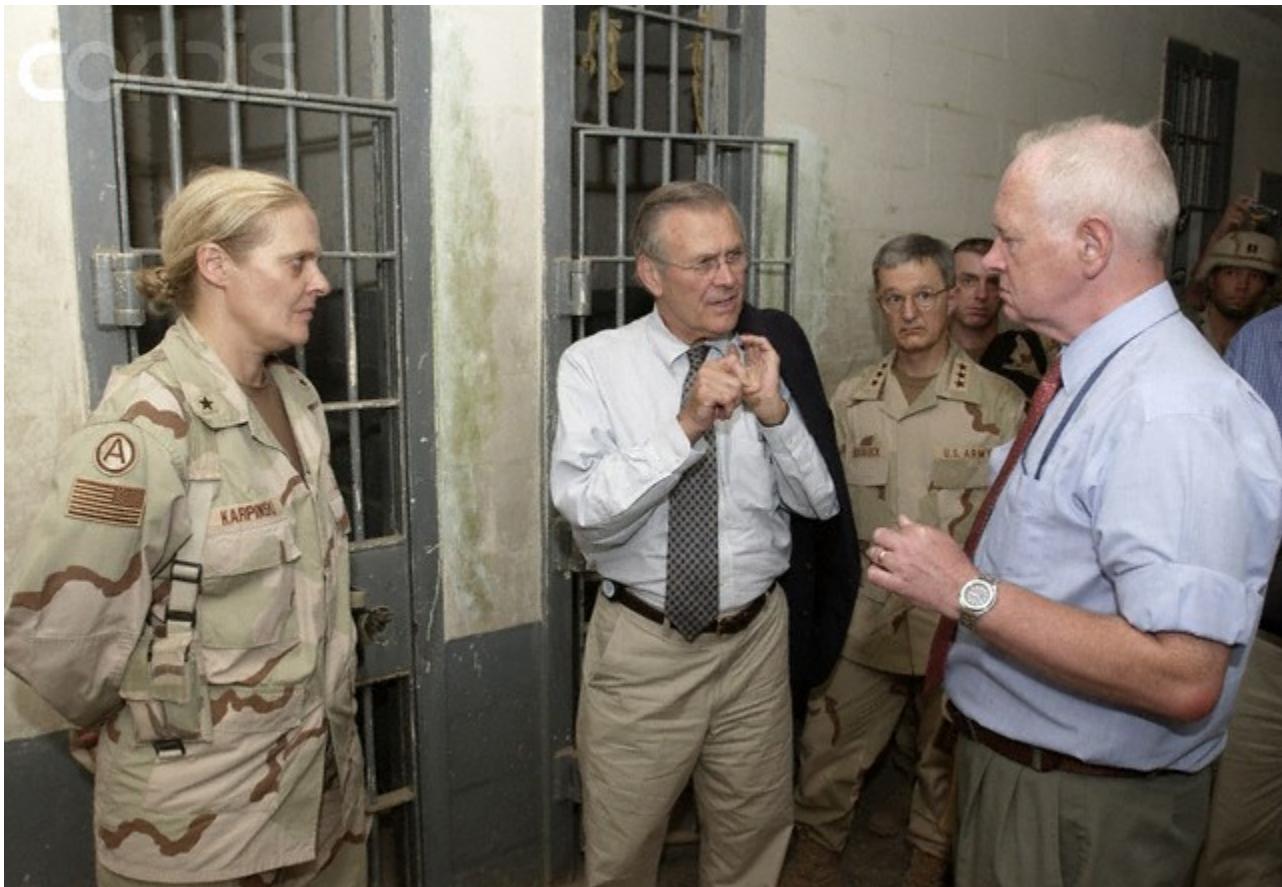


An Iraqi man weeps as he walks away from the Ministry of Justice following a suicide bombing in Baghdad, Iraq on October 25, 2009. (Getty Images)



Left photo: Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates (left) meets with Iraqi President Jalal Talabani during a visit to Baghdad, Iraq, on December 20, 2006. Gates, along with Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Peter Pace, U.S. Marine Corps, is in Iraq to meet with Iraqi leaders, Army Gen. John Abizaid, commander of U.S. Central Command and Army Gen. George Casey, commander Multinational Forces-Iraq, to discuss the way ahead in Iraq. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)

Right photo: U.S. Army General David Petraeus meets with Iraq's Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki.



U.S. Army Brigadier General Janis Karpinski watches Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld talk to one of his assistants at the infamous Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq on September 6, 2003. (James M. Bowman/USAF/Reuters/Corbis)



Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz visits the infamous Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq on July 20, 2003. (Reuters/CORBIS)

“I am reasonably certain that (the Iraqi people) will greet us as **liberators**, and that will help us to keep requirements down.”  
– Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense, during a congressional testimony held on February 27, 2003

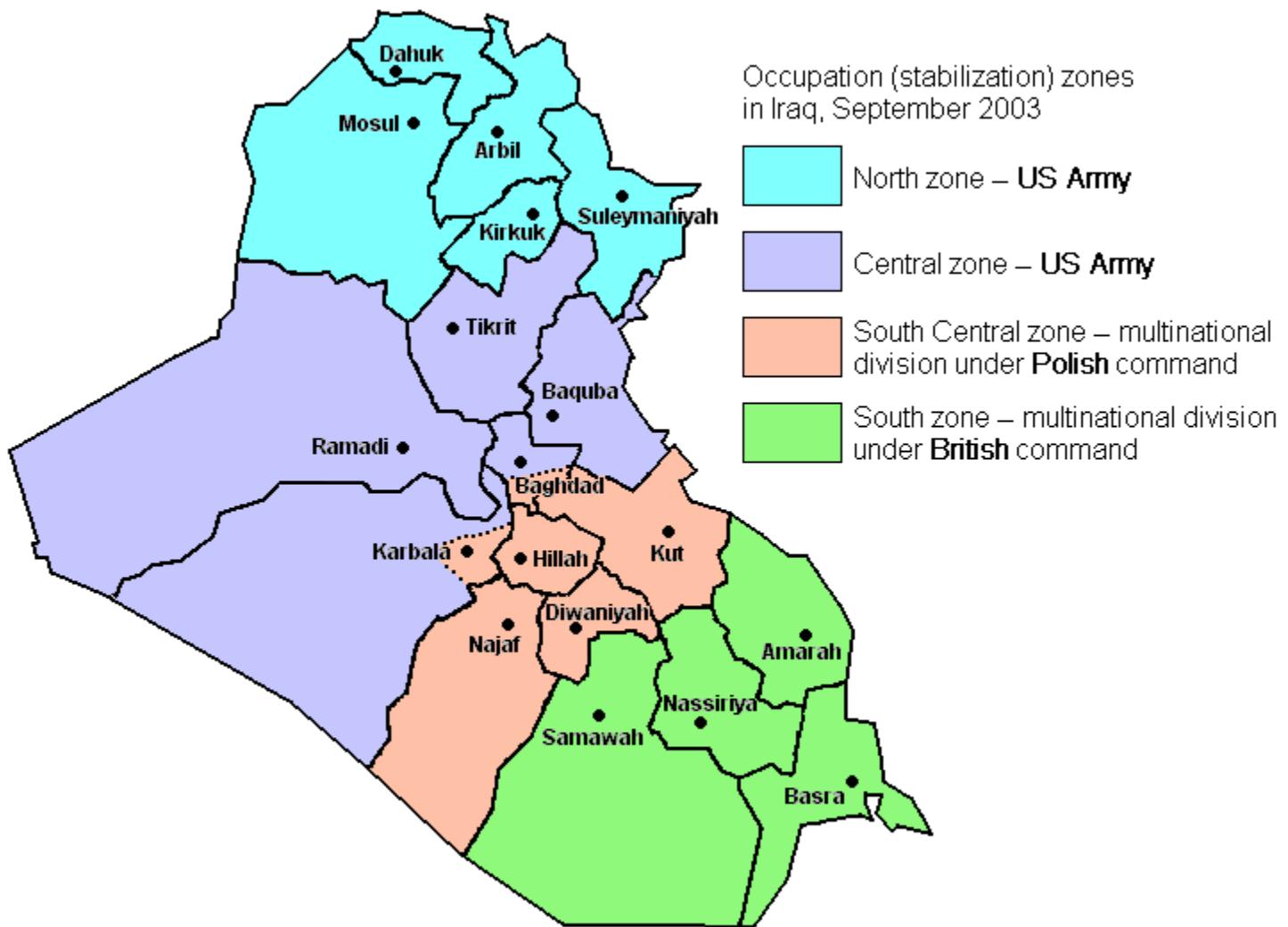


THE ABU GHRAIB PRISON TORTURE SCANDAL



U.S. President George W. Bush shakes hands with former Iraq administrator L. Paul Bremer as retired U.S. Army Gen. Tommy Franks, the former Commander of U.S. Central Command, applauds after Bush awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Bremer on December 14, 2004. Tommy Franks and former CIA Director George Tenet also received the honor. (UPI Photo/Roger L. Wollenberg)

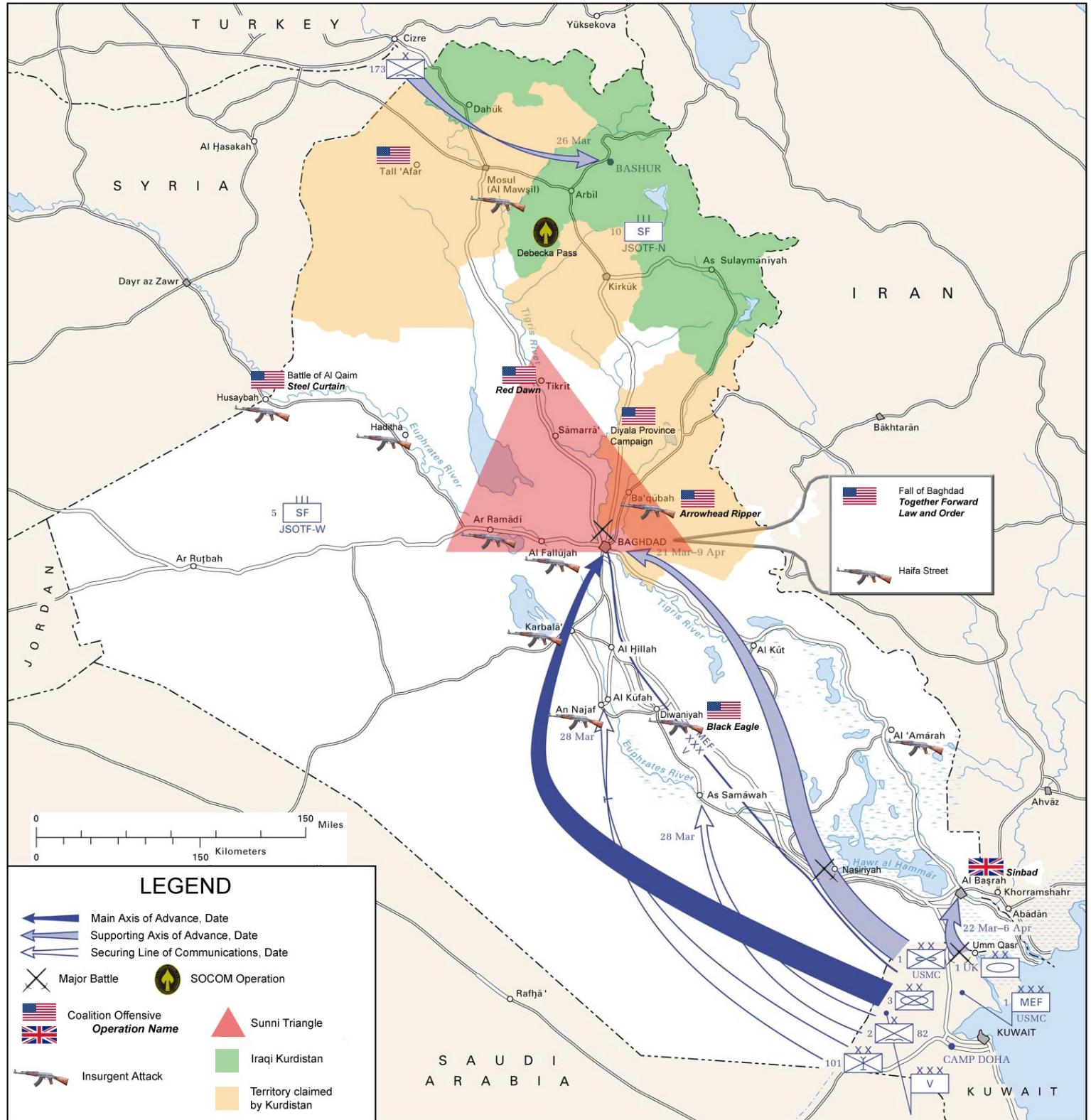
"You see how it works, you play the game, you go along with whatever is being spun by the Neo-Cons or by the Pentagon and you get promoted. But the people who have the strength and the moral courage to stand up and say, 'This is wrong, this is a lie, they are removed from their positions, they take their security clearance away and then they're out on the street...There is overwhelming proof that torture is going on, that it has been directed and is likely continuing, even to this day. I don't want to believe it is but the statements from the people just returning from the theater give every indication that in fact it is, they still don't know where to draw the line." – U.S. Army Brig. Gen. Janis Karpinski, [in an interview on the Alex Jones Show](#), October 25, 2005



A map of the occupation zones in Iraq (as of September 2003)



A casualty of the Anglo-American, Bush-Rockefeller Military-Industrial Complex: A U.S. Army soldier lies dead on the kitchen floor of a house used as a base by insurgent fighters in Fallujah, Iraq on Saturday, November 13, 2004. The American soldier was shot and killed by insurgent fighters when he entered the room. (Photo: <http://incredibleimages4u.blogspot.com/2009/09/real-face-of-iraq-war-pain-and-violence.html>)



## LEGEND

- Main Axis of Advance, Date
- Supporting Axis of Advance, Date
- Securing Line of Communications, Date
- Major Battle
- SOCOM Operation
- Coalition Offensive Operation Name
- Sunni Triangle
- Iraqi Kurdistan
- Territory claimed by Kurdistan
- Insurgent Attack

Routes and major battles fought by American and British invasion force in March-April 2003



A map of the Anglo-American protectorate of Iraq

#### "Operation Iraqi Freedom" Timeline:

- March 19, 2003 (American time, March 20 Iraq time) – Beginning of American invasion of Iraq ("Operation Iraqi Freedom")
- April 9, 2003 – "Liberation" of Baghdad, Iraq
- May 12, 2003 – Paul Bremer arrives in Baghdad, Iraq
- July 22, 2003 – American soldiers kill Saddam Hussein's sons Uday and Qusay in a fierce six-hour gun battle in Mosul
- November 27, 2003 – President George W. Bush pays a surprise visit to U.S. Army soldiers in Baghdad, Iraq
- December 14, 2003 – U.S. Army captures deposed Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein near Tikrit, Iraq
- June 28, 2004 – Paul Bremer and the Bush administration transferred "sovereignty" to the Iraqi government in Baghdad, Iraq
- December 30, 2006 – Saddam Hussein is hanged to death by the Iraqi government

# How To Lose Iraq

Grants of immunity have a long and unpleasant history in the Middle East, having caused serious crises.

June 28, 2008

No word better sums up the dangers the United States faces in Iraq today than a four-letter acronym you've probably never heard of: SOFA. Several decades ago, SOFA helped America lose Iran. Now it has become the biggest sticking point between Washington and Baghdad.

SOFA stands for Status of Forces Agreement, a type of compact that governs the treatment of U.S. personnel abroad. With U.S. troops scattered around the globe, these agreements are critically important, and there are some 90 of them in force, each tailored to the special requirements of the host nation. The Bush administration now wants to add Iraq to this list, in order to help formalize the long-term U.S. security presence there.

That doesn't sound problematic, but there's a catch. Most SOFAs grant U.S. personnel immunity from prosecution by the host country. In this case, according to leaked accounts from Iraqi leaders, Washington is demanding even more. The proposed deal would guarantee U.S. rights to more than 50 military bases, give Americans the right to detain terror suspects without prior Iraqi approval, ensure U.S. control of Iraqi airspace and extend legal immunity to civilian contractors. The Pentagon says it's all necessary for the security of Iraqis and U.S. personnel. The government of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki has said the deal "deeply affects Iraqi sovereignty, and this we can never accept."

It turns out that immunity grants have long been controversial and have an unpleasant history in the Middle East, where they've generated serious crisis in Turkey, Egypt and especially Iran.

Starting back in the 16th century, Ottoman sultans, to promote trade and gain European good will, began granting foreign merchants immunity from Turkish laws. But this irked locals. Then, in 1905, Sultan Abdul Hamid was targeted in a failed bomb (27 bystanders were killed). Edward Joris, a Belgian subject, was arrested and condemned to death by a Turkish court for alleged complicity. But Brussels demanded his release, and two years later, Joris walked free. Turkish reformers seized on the controversy to demand the abolition of extraterritorial rights, which they formally achieved in 1923 under President Kemal Ataturk of the fledgling Turkish republic.

A related dispute struck Egypt around the same time as the Joris affair. In 1906, seven British officers hunting in the village of Dinshawai bagged a flock of pigeons that were actually tame. Villagers protested, a melee erupted, and a Captain Bull collapsed and died from heat stroke, and Bull's comrades beat a villager to death. This murder went unpunished, but for instigating the scuffle, four villagers were hanged, eight were severely flogged and others were arrested. British critics of imperial rule seized on the case as an example of colonial hubris. George Bernard Shaw asked his readers to imagine their reaction if a party of Chinese officials turned up in an English village "and began shooting the ducks, the geese, the hens and turkeys and carried them off, asserting that they were wild birds, as everybody in China knew, and that the pretended indignation of the farmers was a cloak for hatred of the Chinese."

Despite such protests, extraterritorial privileges were not totally abolished in Egypt until 1947. In Iran, the guarantees had been abolished by the newly enthroned nationalist Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1928. But in 1962, the Pentagon began pressing his son and heir to approve a sweeping new grant of immunity in return for military aid, and in 1964, a compliant Iranian Parliament approved the pact, ignoring widespread dissent.

"Isn't this part of the reason you Americans fought the British?" an Iranian friend asked the scholar James A. Bill. His outrage was shared by Ayatollah Khomeini, then a cleric in the holy city of Qom who declared that the National Assembly had just signed a document that enslaved the country. "If the shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted," argued Khomeini. "But if an American cook runs over the shah, no one would have any claims against him." So great was the ensuing uproar that the shah banished the ayatollah, who sought asylum in Turkey, Iraq and France before his triumphant return in 1979.

The Pentagon may not realize it, but Iraq, too, suffered a SOFA-like arrangement during its decades as a British protectorate, inciting similar furies. Some sort of limited agreement is necessary to govern the status of U.S. troops there, since they're likely to remain in Iraq for some time. But it should have a limited scope to counter the widespread impression that the Bush administration wants permanent bases for an indefinite occupation. If Washington continues on its current course, the next president will find himself the inheritor of an agreement almost certain to haunt his administration, especially if, as reported, it offers legal immunities to contract employees as well as U.S. military personnel. Americans—and Iraqis—deserve better.

Source: <http://www.newsweek.com/2008/06/28/how-to-lose-iraq.html>

# Saddam Hussein 'lied about WMDs to protect Iraq from Iran'

Saddam Hussein told the FBI that he misled the world into believing Iraq still possessed weapons of mass destruction because he feared revealing his weakness to Iran, according to declassified interview transcripts.

By Alex Spillius in Washington  
03 Jul 2009

The late Iraqi dictator also told his interrogators that he regarded Osama bin Laden as a "zealot" and had no contact with the al-Qaeda leader or his organisation.

Despite defeat in the Gulf War at the hands of the American-led coalition, Saddam still regarded Iran, with which Iraq fought a bloody war from 1980-88, as a greater threat than the US, the documents show.

"Hussein believed that Iraq could not appear weak to its enemies, especially Iran," FBI special agent George Piro wrote on notes of a conversation with Saddam in June 2004.

Mr Piro wrote: "Hussein stated Iraq could have absorbed another United States strike, for he viewed this as less of a threat than exposing themselves to Iran."

The transcripts, released under a freedom of information request, both undermined the Bush case for war, which was based on the threat of WMD and alleged Iraqi links to al-Qaeda, and underlined the absurd length of Saddam's desire to convince the world that he held WMD.

In the wake of the March 2003 invasion, no such weapons have ever been found and before leaving office in January Mr Bush himself acknowledged that "most of the intelligence turned out to be wrong".

Saddam, identified as "High Value Detainee Number One," shared Mr Bush's hostility towards the "fanatic" Iranian mullahs, according to the records, which were requested by the National Security Archive, a non-governmental research institute.

He also stated that the United States used the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack as a justification to attack Iraq and said the US had "lost sight of the cause of 9/11".

He asserted that he had never met nor supported Osama bin Laden, though he said "yes" when Mr Piro mentioned two visits to Baghdad by an al-Qaeda ideologue, Abu Hafs al Mauritani, which included requests for "tens of millions of dollars". It was not clear if that was regarded as confirmation of the visit or acknowledgement of the Americans' belief they took place.

FBI special agents carried out, in Arabic, 20 formal interviews and at least five "casual conversations" with the former Iraqi leader after his capture in December 2003. He was hanged in 2006.

Saddam revealed that the farm where he was discovered in an underground room was the same one where he hid in 1959 after taking part in a failed assassination attempt on the president.

Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iraq/5727868/Saddam-Hussein-lied-about-WMDs-to-protect-Iraq-from-Iran.html>

# Iraq: When Can We Go Home?

By Tony Karon Thursday, June 26, 2003

President Bush faced a call this week from a senior member of his own party's foreign policy establishment to "level" with the American people about Iraq. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar was not harping on the whereabouts of Saddam Hussein's alleged weapons of mass destruction; he was urging the president to give the electorate a more realistic picture of the scale and duration of the U.S. occupation mission in Iraq, and to impress on them the importance of staying the course. Fresh from a visit to Baghdad, Lugar warned: "The idea that we will be in just as long as we need to and not a day more — we've got to get over that rhetoric. It is rubbish! We're going to be there a long time."

A similar warning came from Thomas Pickering, who had served the first President Bush as UN ambassador and had headed up a Council on Foreign Relations study on Iraq which concluded that the U.S. mission had lacked "vision and strategy." Pickering, too, urged Bush to make clear that the current U.S. deployment of some 200,000 troops in and around Iraq would have to be maintained for a long time to come. Or, as General John Abizaid, who will assume command of the Iraq mission from the retiring General Tommy Franks next month, put it in congressional testimony this week, "for the foreseeable future."

For obvious domestic political reasons, the Bush Administration going into the war had downplayed the scale and duration of a post-war occupation mission. **When then-Army Chief of Staff General Eric Shinseki told legislators that such a mission would require several hundred thousand U.S. troops, his assessment had been immediately dismissed by Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz as "wildly off the mark." Wolfowitz explained that "I am reasonably certain that (the Iraqi people) will greet us as liberators, and that will help us to keep requirements down."** Six weeks ago, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld was still suggesting the U.S. force in Iraq could be reduced to 30,000 by the end of the year. But the prevailing assessment in Washington appears to be shifting to the idea of a figure closer to Shinseki's.

The changing assessment in Washington is being spurred by the realization that the security problem confronting U.S. and British troops in Iraq is not simply maintaining order in the face of looting and lawlessness, but instead that coalition forces are facing what appears to be an escalating guerrilla insurgency. And that means the occupation mission is costing not only American treasure — currently an estimated \$3 billion a month — but also American lives. U.S. forces come under attack every day in Iraq, and they have suffered combat casualties at a rate upward of one death every other day. Six British MPs were killed near Basra on Tuesday and eight were wounded in a second incident; a U.S. Marine was killed en route to help ambushed comrades Wednesday; two U.S. troops were reported missing overnight Thursday in Baghdad, and later in the day Centcom announced that a Special Operations soldier had been killed and eight wounded by hostile fire during an operation southwest of Baghdad. Two Iraqis employed to help restore Baghdad's electricity supply were among those killed in a rocket attack on a U.S. convoy Thursday, while saboteurs blew up two important oil pipelines earlier in the week, apparently recognizing their ability to disrupt power supplies by targeting some of the country's 4,000 miles of oil and gas pipelines.

The coalition body count is mounting steadily in the postwar insurgency, despite two large sweep operations north of Baghdad last weekend designed to eliminate resistance. U.S. commander have begun to acknowledge that they're facing an organized insurgency, blaming remnants of the old regime and jihadists from other Arab countries who had come to Iraq to fight the U.S. More worrying are the attacks that have occurred this week south of Baghdad, in predominantly Shiites areas. An insurgency confined to the Sunni minority is more easily contained than one whose base extends to the Shiite majority.

Average daily temperatures in Baghdad now are upward of 110 degrees, and U.S. troops who had hoped to be home in time for July 4th cookouts instead find themselves facing an enemy indistinguishable from the (often hostile) civilian population. And the enemy's strategy is to avoid ever presenting himself as a visible target, hoping to sap American morale and alienate the U.S. from the local population through hit and run attacks, and sabotage of reconstruction efforts.

Washington is hoping to lighten the load with an infusion of some 20,000 troops slated to be sent — in small contingents, mostly at U.S. expense — from those NATO countries that supported the war. But the number that actually arrive in Iraq may shrink somewhat if it turns out they're headed into a counterinsurgency mission rather than a more pedestrian peacekeeping affair. This week's British casualties, in what had ostensibly been the most tranquil part of Iraq, won't help Washington's recruitment efforts. Britain's own force levels in Iraq had been reduced from 45,000 during the war to around 15,000, although following the latest incident the government faces conflicting pressures to both increase and reduce its exposure in Iraq.

More robust contributions have been asked of India and Pakistan, but while the leaders of both countries are inclined to comply, both face strong domestic opposition. The U.S. is also embarking on a plan to train and equip a new Iraqi national army comprising some 60,000 men, although that project will likely take years to complete. In the short term, despite local recruitment and the planned deployment of more foreign troops, most, if not all of the heavy lifting will remain the preserve of the U.S. and British forces.

Iraq, of course, is not the only peacekeeping mission requiring the attention of the U.S. and its allies. Some 11,000 coalition troops remain deployed in Afghanistan against the Taliban and al-Qaeda, while peacekeeping duties are the preserve of the 4,800 foreign

troops grouped under the banner of the International Security Assistance Force, whose small numbers confine its work to the capital, Kabul. A number of U.S. legislators and South Asia experts are quietly warning that the security situation there is in danger of unraveling in the face of Taliban resurgence and internecine warlord conflicts, and that turning the situation around requires either expanding the terms of the U.S. deployment to stabilizing Afghanistan, or else significantly expanding ISAF. (ISAF has one advantage in that it has drawn on major troop contributions from NATO members that had opposed the Iraq war — Turkey, France and Germany.)

The U.S. exit strategy from Iraq has always been to install a stable, friendly Iraqi government whose oil revenues would give it financial independence and withdraw the bulk of the force that had overthrown Saddam's regime. But the scale of the challenge of remaking Iraq forced Washington to adapt its plans. When U.S. viceroy Paul Bremer arrived to take the reins from the hapless Jay Garner he chose to keep political authority in U.S. hands rather than betting prematurely on any Iraqi group. To the chagrin of most of Iraq's many political factions, Bremer has put talk of a transitional government in the deep freeze, and instead plans to draw Iraqis into a much slower process of consultation over a new constitution. That, of course, leaves the occupation authority without an Iraqi face, which further inflames nationalist passions — but managing an occupation mission such as Iraq invariably throws up mostly lesser-evil choices.

It was clear from the moment Bremer took over that the process of achieving the Bush administration's political objectives in post-Saddam Iraq might take years of patient nation-building. But what has become equally clear, in recent weeks, is that it may also require winning a second war, of counterinsurgency.

Source: <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,461462,00.html>



Medics at a central Baghdad, Iraq hospital tend to a woman injured by a car bomb on March 26, 2009. The bomb exploded near a crowded market in a mainly Shiite area in Baghdad, killing as many as 20 people, Iraqi officials said, in the fifth major attack in Iraq in March 2009. (AP Photo)

# Iraq's Christians terrorized by wave of bombings

By Barbara Surk And Hamid Ahmed, Associated Press – November 10, 2010

BAGHDAD – Suspected Sunni militants took aim again at Baghdad's dwindling Christian community, setting off a dozen roadside bombs Wednesday and sending terrified families into hiding behind a church where walls are still stained from blood from an attack nearly two weeks ago.

Five people were killed and 20 were wounded in the bombings and mortar attacks that targeted Christians across the city, police and hospital officials said. Iraqi Christians are already reeling after the earlier attack on a Sunday Mass service left 68 people dead, and many are now wondering whether it's time to leave their homeland. At a house on the grounds of Our Lady of Salvation Church, Karim Patros Thomas was under no illusion that the community is under siege.

On Oct. 31, Thomas' brother-in-law bled to death on the church floor after militants stormed the building, shot congregants in the first row, held others hostage and then set off bombs when Iraqi forces came to the rescue. Then Wednesday morning, two bombs went off in quick succession outside his home.

"We are terrified," Thomas said, who sought refuge with his family Wednesday at the church. "I cannot go back to my house. They will attack again. They want to kill us."

A priest at the church, Moukhlis Shash, said four families arrived Wednesday, and he expects more in the coming days. He said some of the families found on their doorsteps a bullet wrapped in paper that read: "Your blood is legitimate for us."

Security was beefed up around churches in Baghdad after the church massacre, possibly pushing the militants to target the homes as easier targets.

Several police vehicles, equipped with machine guns, surrounded the church Wednesday. The building's outside walls were still riddled with bullets. Pictures of two priests, killed in the siege, hung above the main entrance. Pieces of black cloth, each adored with a white crucifix, were tied to the metal fence surrounding the church.

Police said at least 11 roadside bombs went off within an hour Wednesday in three predominantly Christian areas of central Baghdad. Two mortar rounds also struck Christian enclaves of the predominantly Sunni neighborhood of Dora in south Baghdad. Two bombs planted in deserted Christian homes in western Baghdad destroyed two houses. The night before, a series of bombs hit three empty houses belonging to Christians but no one was hurt.

"It's not worth staying in a country where the government is not able to protect you even when you are sitting in your house," said Juliet Hana, a 33-year-old Christian who lives in one of the neighborhoods targeted Wednesday. She was having breakfast with her daughter when she heard the bombs go off, and said she plans to leave soon for either Syria or Jordan.

Catholic officials estimate that more than 1 million Christians have fled Iraq since the U.S.-led invasion in 2003. Many went to Syria, which in recent days has seen a greater number of arriving Iraqis than usual.

Sargon Dawod, director of the Assyrian General Conference in Damascus said eight families — 30 people — have immigrated to Syria over the past 10 days. He expects that number to increase. Fadel Mikha Sam'an, 66, said he went to Syria four days ago after losing three relatives in the church attack. "The terrorists are killing Christians. They want to empty Iraq of Christians," he said.

Sunni militants such as al-Qaida justify their attacks by questioning whether the Christians are loyal to countries in the West rather than to Iraq. A group linked to al-Qaida in Iraq has claimed responsibility for the attack on the church.

Iraq's top Catholic prelate, Chaldean Cardinal Emmanuel III Delly, has encouraged the remaining 1.5 million Christians to stay in the country and asked authorities for more protection.

At the Baghdad church, Thomas said the Christians have no tribal leaders or militias to protect them. He is begging his wife to leave the country with their children. His wife, Selma Edward Eskander, said she considers Iraq's Muslims her family too.

"I don't want to leave. I just want to be somewhere where my children are safe," she said, still dressed in black to mourn her older brother. "I wonder what has happened to Iraq. We Christians and Muslims used to live together."

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Associated Press writer Sameer N. Yacoub in Amman, Jordan, and Albert Aji in Damascus, Syria contributed to this report.  
[http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20101110/ap\\_re\\_mi\\_ea/ml\\_iraq](http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20101110/ap_re_mi_ea/ml_iraq)



Christian Iraqis grieve over the coffin of a relative prior to a funeral mass at the Chaldean Catholic Church in the northern city of Kirkuk, 255 kms from Baghdad on April 27, 2009. Gunmen killed two Christians, including a woman, after breaking into their homes in the northern Iraqi oil city of Kirkuk police said. ([Getty Images](#))



Mourners carry the coffin of a Christian priest Adel Yousif, who was killed by gunmen, during a funeral at Syrian Orthodox church in Baghdad April 6, 2008. Gunmen shot dead an Iraqi priest in a drive-by shooting in central Baghdad on Saturday, police said, in the latest attack on Christians in the country. ([Reuters](#))



An Iraqi woman (left) and an Iraqi Muslim policeman (right) light candles in front of a statue of Virgin Mary as Chaldean Catholic Christians celebrated Easter Mass inside the church in central Baghdad's Al-Karrada neighborhood on March 23, 2008. Iraqi Catholics celebrated Easter today amidst fears of being targeted by insurgents after Chaldean Archbishop Paulos Faraj Rahho of Mosul was found dead in a shallow grave in northern Iraq on March 14, thirteen days after he was kidnapped during a shootout in which three of his companions were killed. (both photos: AFP/Getty Images)



Iraqi Christians pray in St. Joseph's Chaldean church in Baghdad, Iraq, Sunday, Feb. 3, 2008. The Chaldean Church is an Eastern Rite church affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. (AP Photo)

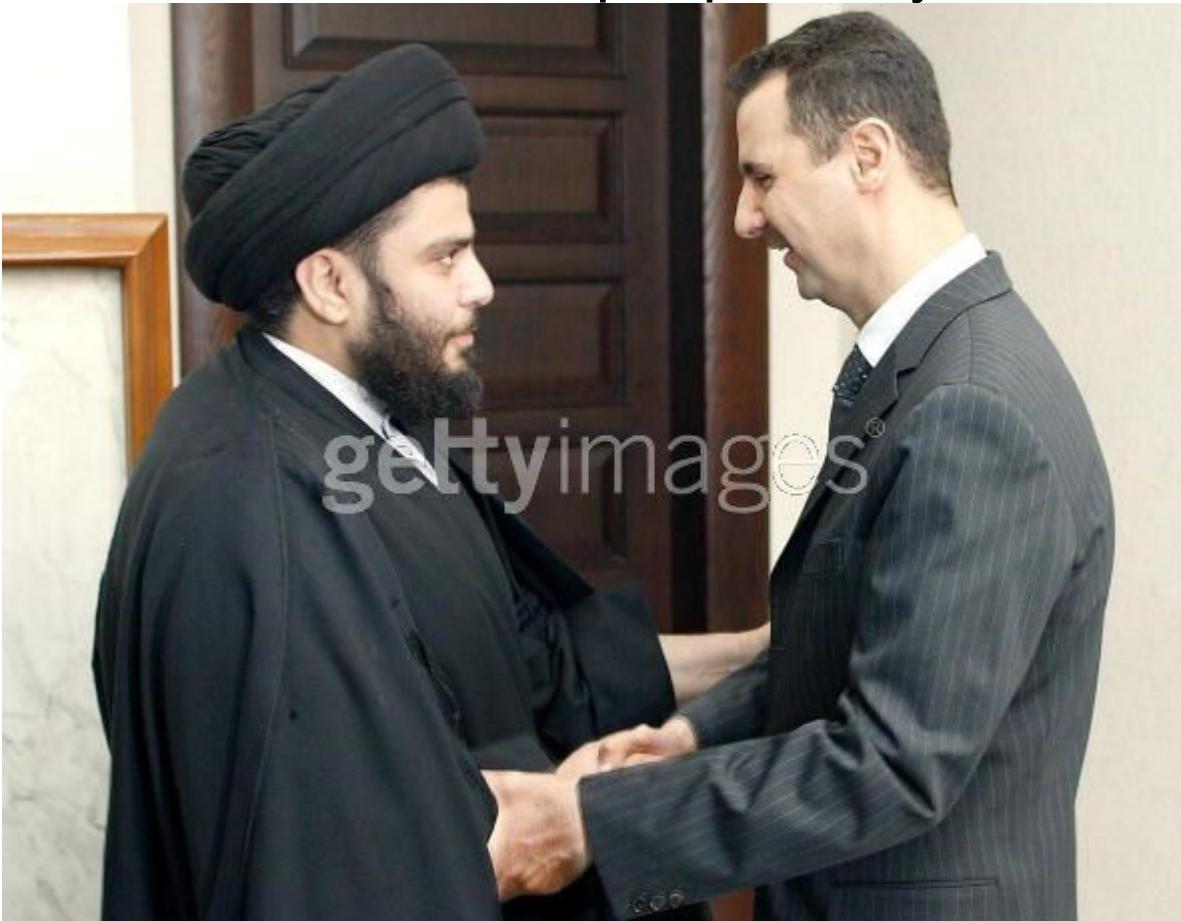


A Chaldean Catholic bishop performs a Mass attended by Iraqi Christians, local Muslim tribal leaders, and American soldiers in Baghdad, Iraq on November 15, 2007. The service was held at St. John the Baptist, a church in the neighborhood of Dora that closed earlier this year due to Islamic militant threats. A recent decrease in violence has allowed the Iraqi Christians to re-open the church for the first time in seven months, and the afternoon mass attracted around a hundred worshippers. (Getty Images)



Local Muslim tribal leaders attend a mass in a Chaldean Catholic church in a service attended by Iraqi Christians, local Muslim tribal leaders, and American soldiers in Baghdad, Iraq on November 15, 2007. The service was held at St. John the Baptist, a church in the neighborhood of Dora that closed earlier this year due to Islamic militant threats. A recent decrease in violence has allowed the Iraqi Christians to re-open the church for the first time in seven months, and the afternoon mass attracted around a hundred worshippers. (Getty Images)

# Postwar Iraqi Diplomacy



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In this handout from the Syrian Arab News Agency (SANA), Syrian President Bashar al-Assad (R) shakes hands with Shiite radical leader Moqtada Sadr at the Presidential Palace in Damascus, Syria on February 6, 2006. According to reports, Sadr stated 'Israel, the United States and Britain, which are enemies of Iraq and Syria, are guilty of sowing dissent between the Syrian and Iraqi peoples' and vowed to 'maintain coordination' with Damascus. (Photo by SANA via Getty Images)



President of Iraq Jalal Talabani (right) shakes hands with President of Iran Mahmoud Ahmadinejad upon his arrival in Baghdad, Iraq on March 2, 2008. Ahmadinejad arrived in Baghdad on Sunday, the first president of Iran to visit Iraq since the two neighbors fought a bitter eight-year war in the 1980s that killed a million people. ([Reuters](#))



President of Iraq Bashar al-Assad (right) shakes hands with President of Iraq Jalal Talabani during their meeting at the presidential palace in Damascus, Syria on January 14, 2007. Talabani arrived in Syria today on the first such high-level visit in three decades to a country accused by the United States of fuelling the violence in his homeland. ([AFP/Getty Images](#))



Chalabi with Iranian President Ahmadinejad

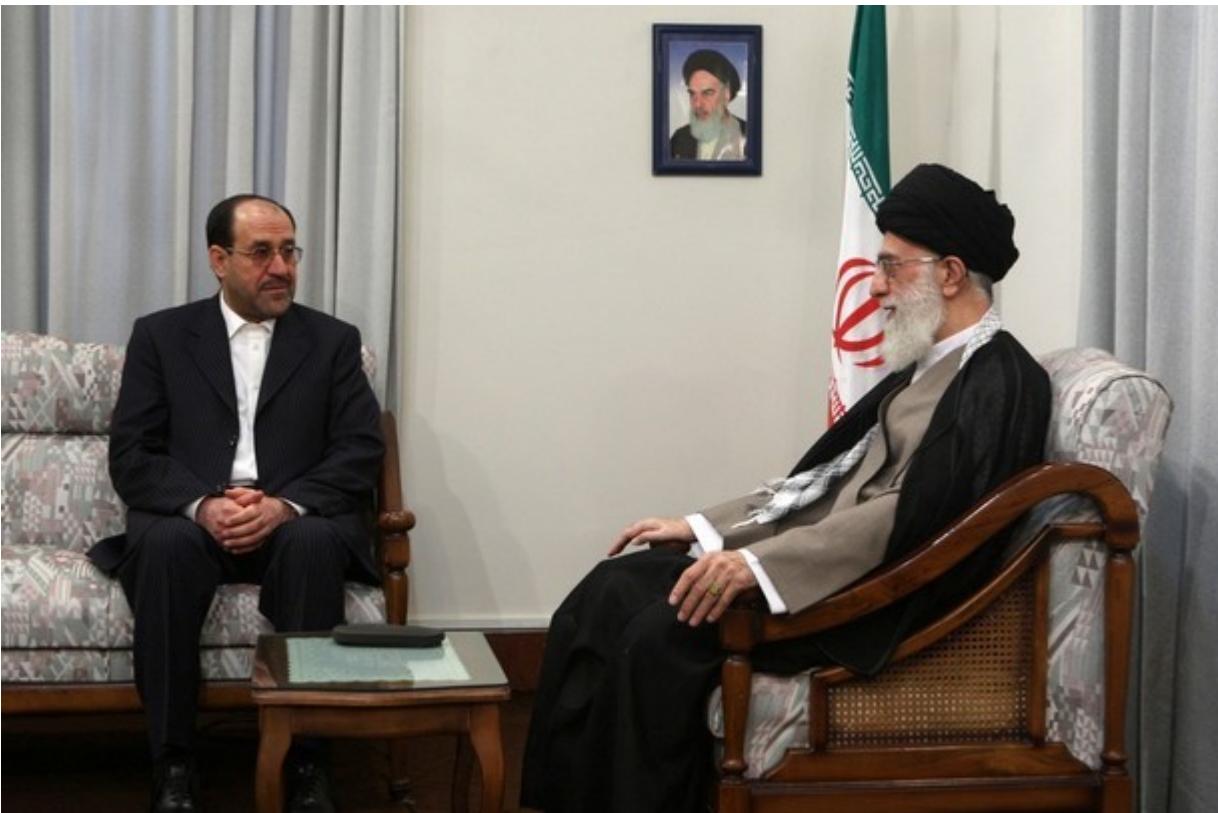
Left photo: Ahmad Chalabi (left) speaks to Iran's ruler Mohammad Khatami (center) at an official meeting in Tehran on March 13, 2004. Right photo: Left: Ahmad Chalabi meets Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.



Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan (R) sits alongside Iraqi Shi'ite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr (L) as they pose for a photograph prior to a meeting in Ankara, Turkey on May 1, 2009. ([Getty Images](#))



Iraq's Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki (left) and Iraqi Shi'ite Cleric Moqtada al-Sadr appear at a press conference.



Iran's supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei (right) meets with Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki in Tehran, Iran on June 9, 2008. Maliki, who lived in exile in Iran during Saddam's dictatorship, is on his third visit to the country as prime minister. Ahmadinejad's March visit to Iraq, the first by an Iranian president, was also hailed as a landmark in ties. ([AFP/Getty Images](#))



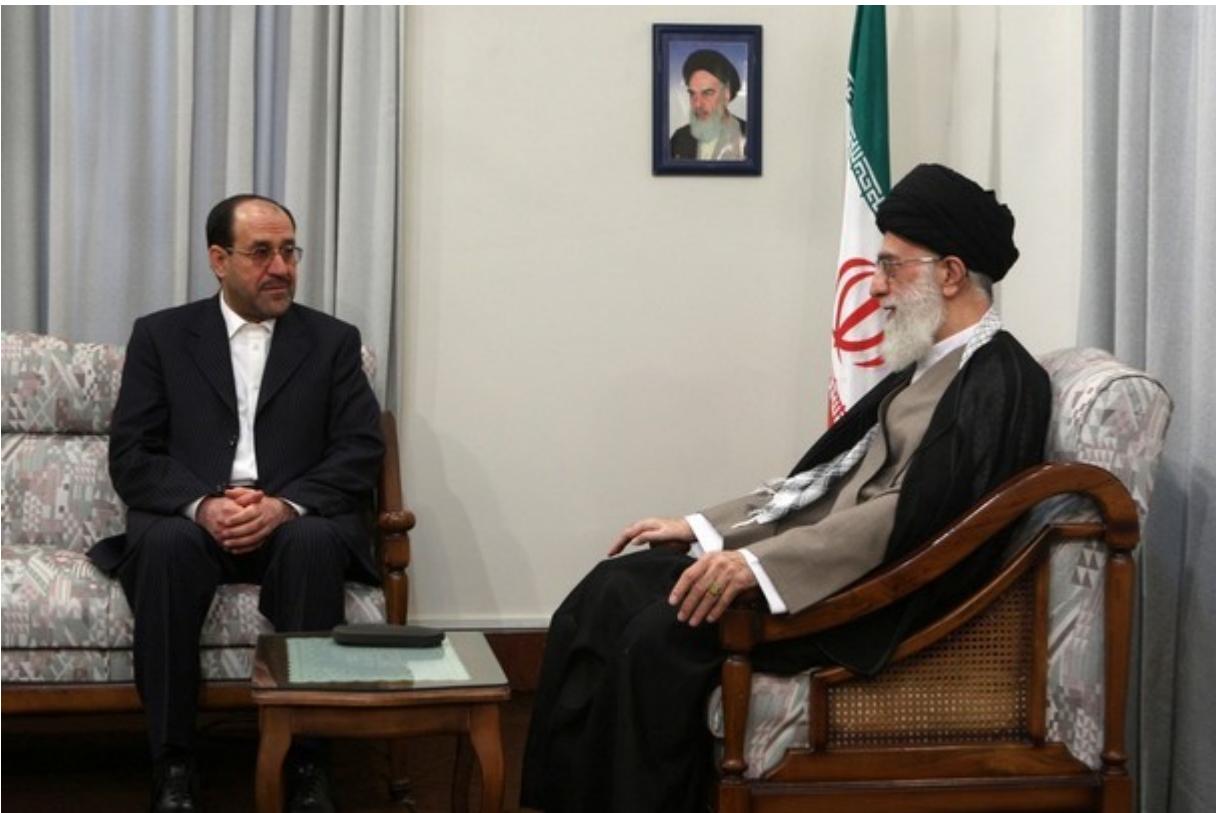
Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri K. Al-Maliki (left), Sweden's Foreign Minister Carl Bildt, (2nd right) and Secretary General of the United Nations Ban Ki Moon (right) are pictured on May 29, 2008 attending the press conference at the first Iraq Compact Annual Review Conference in InfraCity in Stockholm, Sweden. World leaders attending the conference on Iraq unanimously approved a declaration acknowledging Baghdad's efforts to improve security and "combat terrorism" in the war-torn country. The statement, adopted by the some 100 delegations attending a follow-up meeting of the so-called International Compact with Iraq (ICI) conference in Stockholm, said that "given the difficult context, these successes are all the more remarkable." Carl Bildt is a regular participant in the exclusive Bilderberg Meetings. ([AFP/Getty Images](#))



Syria's President Bashar Assad, right, shakes hands with Iraq's Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki in Damascus, Syria on Tuesday, August 21, 2007. Al-Maliki and Assad said in a meeting Tuesday during the embattled Iraqi leader's first official visit here that despite their differences, both are interested in stabilizing Iraq. Al-Maliki's three-day sojourn in Syria comes as part of his efforts to seek neighbors' help in stemming the violence ravaging Iraq. (AP Photo)



Ahmad Chalabi greets Iran's ruler Mohammed Khatami.



Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei (right) meets with Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki in Tehran, Iran on June 9, 2008. Maliki, who lived in exile in Iran during Saddam's dictatorship, is on his third visit to the country as prime minister. Ahmadinejad's March visit to Iraq, the first by an Iranian president, was also hailed as a landmark in ties. ([AFP/Getty Images](#))



President of Iran Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (left) shakes hands with Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki at the latter's office in the heavily fortified Green Zone in Baghdad, Iraq on March 2, 2008. Ahmadinejad began a historic visit to Iraq today -- the first ever by an Iranian president -- hoping to boost ties with Baghdad with which Tehran fought a bitter eight-year war. ([AFP/Getty Images](#))



Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri al-Maliki (left) greets outgoing Prime Minister of Great Britain Tony Blair in May 2007.



Prime Minister of Great Britain Gordon Brown (left) talks with President of Iraq Jalal Talabani during their meeting in Baghdad, Iraq on July 19, 2008. (Getty Images)



Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri al-Maliki (right) shakes hands with Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel after a news conference at the Chancellery in Berlin, Germany on July 22, 2008. (Getty Images)



President of France Nicolas Sarkozy (left) shakes hands with Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki as he arrives at the Elysee Palace in Paris, France on May 4, 2009. (Reuters)



Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki (left) shakes hands with NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer during a press conference at the Alliance headquarters in Brussels, Belgium on April 17, 2008. (Reuters)



Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki (left) greets Pope Benedict XVI at the Pope's summer residence in Castelgandolfo, Italy on July 25, 2008. (Getty Images)



Prime Minister of Great Britain Gordon Brown (left) greets Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri al-Maliki outside 10 Downing Street in London on April 30, 2009. Great Britain once governed Iraq as a British colony. (Reuters)

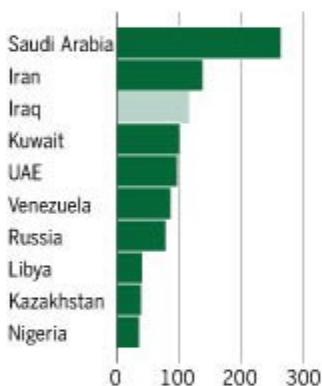


An engineer walks past chimneys at the oil fields in Zubair

Photo: Getty Images

## Iraq: fields open for bidding

### Proved oil reserves Billion barrels, 2007



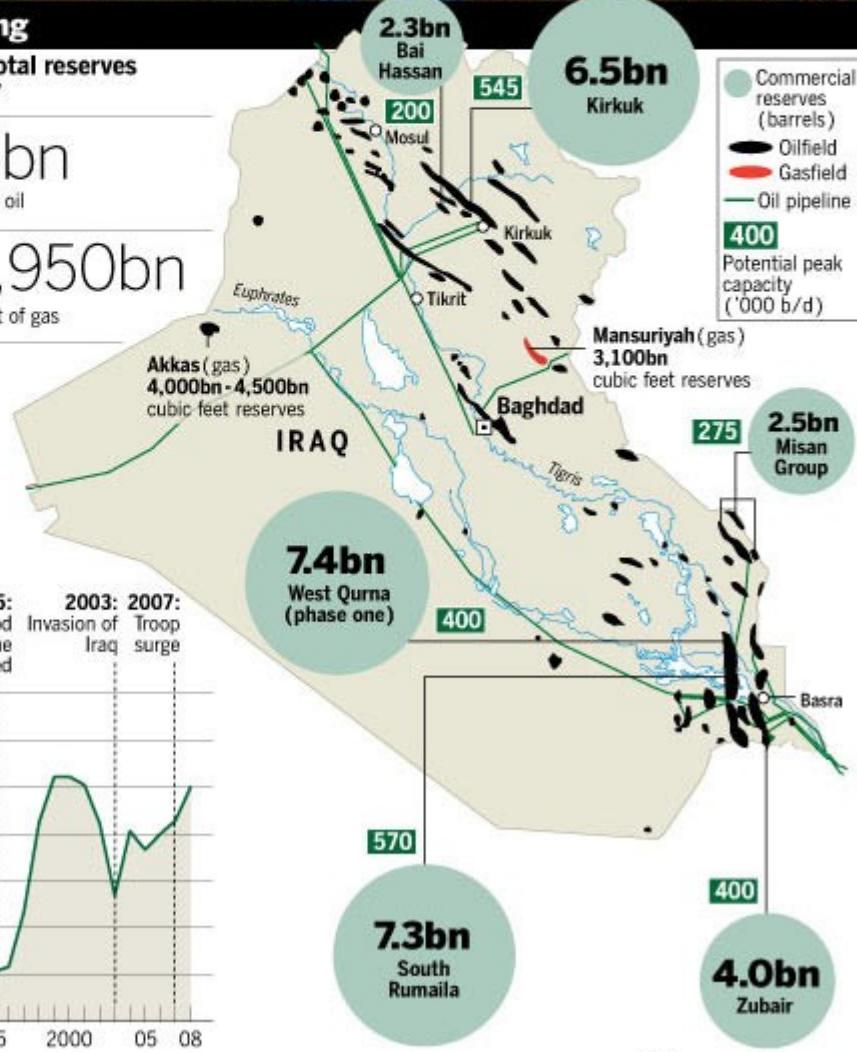
### Iraq's total reserves End 2007

115bn

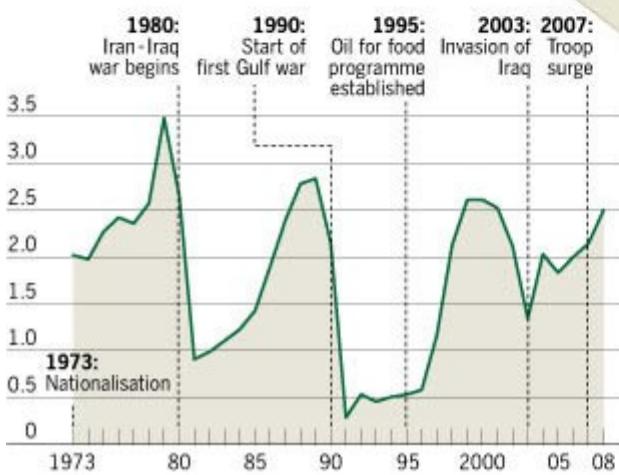
Barrels of oil

111,950bn

Cubic feet of gas



### Iraq's oil production Million barrels per day



Sources: BP; Iraq Oil Ministry

Source: Petroleum Economist; Wood Mackenzie

200 km



Iraqi people are seen driving automobiles, including BMW (Germany) and Chevrolet (American) cars in Baghdad, Iraq on February 9, 2009. (Getty Images/Chris Hondros)



American President Barack Obama shakes hands with Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri al-Maliki after a joint press event on Camp Victory in Baghdad, Iraq, April 7, 2009. President Obama spoke to hundreds of American troops during his surprise visit to Iraq to thank them for their service. (U.S. Army photo)



President George W. Bush and Prime Minister of Great Britain Tony Blair walk through the Cross Hall of the White House before the start of their news conference on July 17, 2003. ([White House photo](#))



Prime Minister of Great Britain Tony Blair greets British soldiers in Iraq.



President Barack Obama reads his speech to photographers after delivering an address to the nation on the end of combat operations ("Operation Iraqi Freedom") in Iraq from the Oval Office of the White House in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on August 31, 2010. (Getty Images)



U.S. Vice President Joe Biden speaks during a Change of Command ceremony at camp Victory in Baghdad, Iraq on September 1, 2010. American military forces were in the final phase of the Iraq War (Persian Gulf War) after ending combat missions, as Iraqi leaders were advised to form their own government six months after a parliamentary election. (Reuters)



General Peter Pace (left), the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Secretary of Defense Robert Gates (right) laugh before testifying at a Senate Appropriations Committee hearing regarding President George W. Bush's funding requests for Iraq and Afghanistan on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. on February 27, 2007. (© Jason Reed/Reuters/Corbis)



Defense Secretary Robert Gates, left, and Joint Chiefs Chairman Adm. Michael Mullen, share laugh on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. on February 2, 2010, prior to testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on the Defense Department's budget. ([AP Photo](#))

## Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS): Organized Crime?



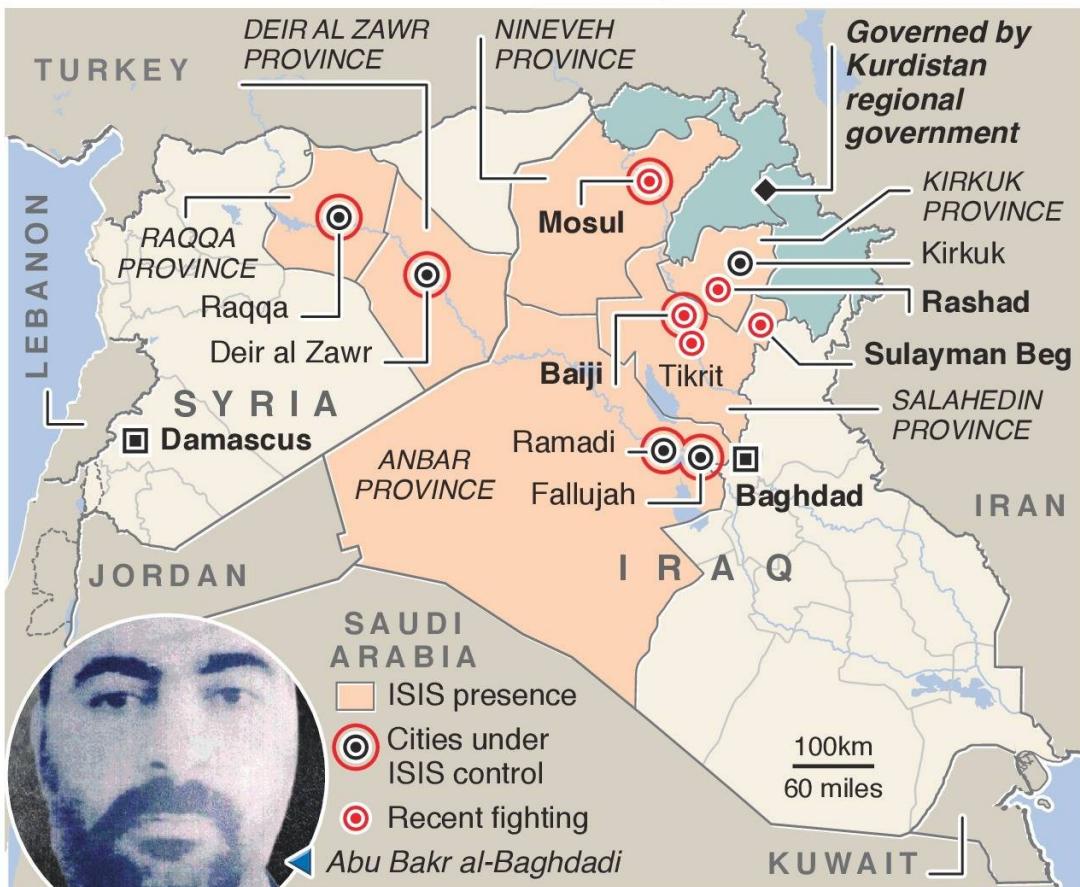
© AFP PHOTO / HO / WELAYAT

Terrorists of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) summarily executes a group of captured Iraqi soldiers at an unknown location in Iraq in June 2014. Iraqi soldiers went on a full-scale retreat towards Baghdad after they were overrun by ISIS terrorists in Mosul in early June 2014.



An image uploaded on June 14, 2014 on the jihadist website Welayat Salahuddin allegedly shows terrorists of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) summarily executing dozens of captured Iraqi soldiers and security forces members at an unknown location in the Salaheddin province. (AFP Photo)

# ISIS – Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant



■ **ISIS\***: Jihadist group with 3,000 to 5,000 fighters, including hundreds of foreigners

■ **Origin:** Formed in early years of Iraq War under name **Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI)**. Known for decapitation videos released on internet

■ **2004:** Leader **Abu Musab al-Zarqawi** pledges allegiance to **Osama bin Laden**. Al-Zarqawi is killed by U.S. forces in 2006

■ **2006-10:** AQI's destructive capability reduced after U.S. troop surge. U.S. and Iraqi forces capture or kill 34 top AQI leaders

■ **2011:** Following departure of U.S. troops, AQI begins bombing campaign. U.S. places \$10 million bounty on leader **Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi**

■ **2012:** AQI launches **Breaking Walls** campaign with over 560 bomb attacks and release of more than 500 inmates from **Abu Ghraib** prison

■ **Apr 2013:** Al-Baghdadi announces merger with Syrian jihadist rebel group, **al-Nusra Front**, to create ISIS. Merger rejected by al-Nusra

■ **2013-14:** ISIS takes control of Syria's Raqqa and Deir al Zawr provinces, beheading rival jihadists

■ **Jan 2014:** ISIS takes control of Fallujah and Ramadi

■ **Feb:** Kills emissary of Al-Qaeda's leader **Ayman al-Zawahiri**

■ **Jun 10:** ISIS captures city of Mosul

■ **Jun 11:** Baiji – home of Iraq's largest oil refinery – falls to ISIS. Fighting spreads to Tikrit

\*Final "S" in ISIS stems from Arabic word "al-Sham" which refers to Levant  
 Sources: Al Monitor, Institute for the Study of War



Sunni Muslim terrorists of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) terrorist (gang) organization have conquered northeastern Syria and northern Iraq, including the Iraqi cities of Mosul and Tikrit in June 2014.

# Iraq Religion Map, 2008



Map Made by Jasmine Forbes, 12/2008  
Data From the University of Texas Libraries

Iraq Religion Map in 2008



Men board military trucks to join the Iraqi army at the main recruiting center in Baghdad, Iraq in June 2014.



A file photo of U.S. Marines walking past the front of the American Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq on February 6, 2007. U.S. President Barack Obama sent over 200 troops to Iraq in June 2014 to guard the American Embassy in Baghdad.



Kurdish security forces prepare combat positions while a Kurdish flag flies outside the oil-rich city of Kirkuk, Iraq, about 180 miles (290 kilometers) north of Baghdad, on Thursday, June 19, 2014. As extremist Sunni ISIS terrorists swept over a large area of northern Iraq and advanced toward Baghdad the past two weeks, Kurdish fighters known as peshmerga seized territory of their own, effectively expanding the Kurdish-run region into areas it has long claimed for itself. Most notably, they grabbed the oil center of Kirkuk. In contrast to the Shiite-led government in Baghdad, which is in turmoil, the Kurds are growing more confident, vowing to increase oil sales independent of the central government. (AP Photo)



Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri Al-Maliki (left) looks on after a meeting U.S. President Barack Obama in the Oval Office at the White House in Washington, D.C. on November 1, 2013. Al-Maliki was expected to request additional U.S. assistance in battling a rising wave of violence in Iraq. According to the Chinese calendar, 2013 was known as "Year of the Snake". (Photo: Pool/Getty Images North America)

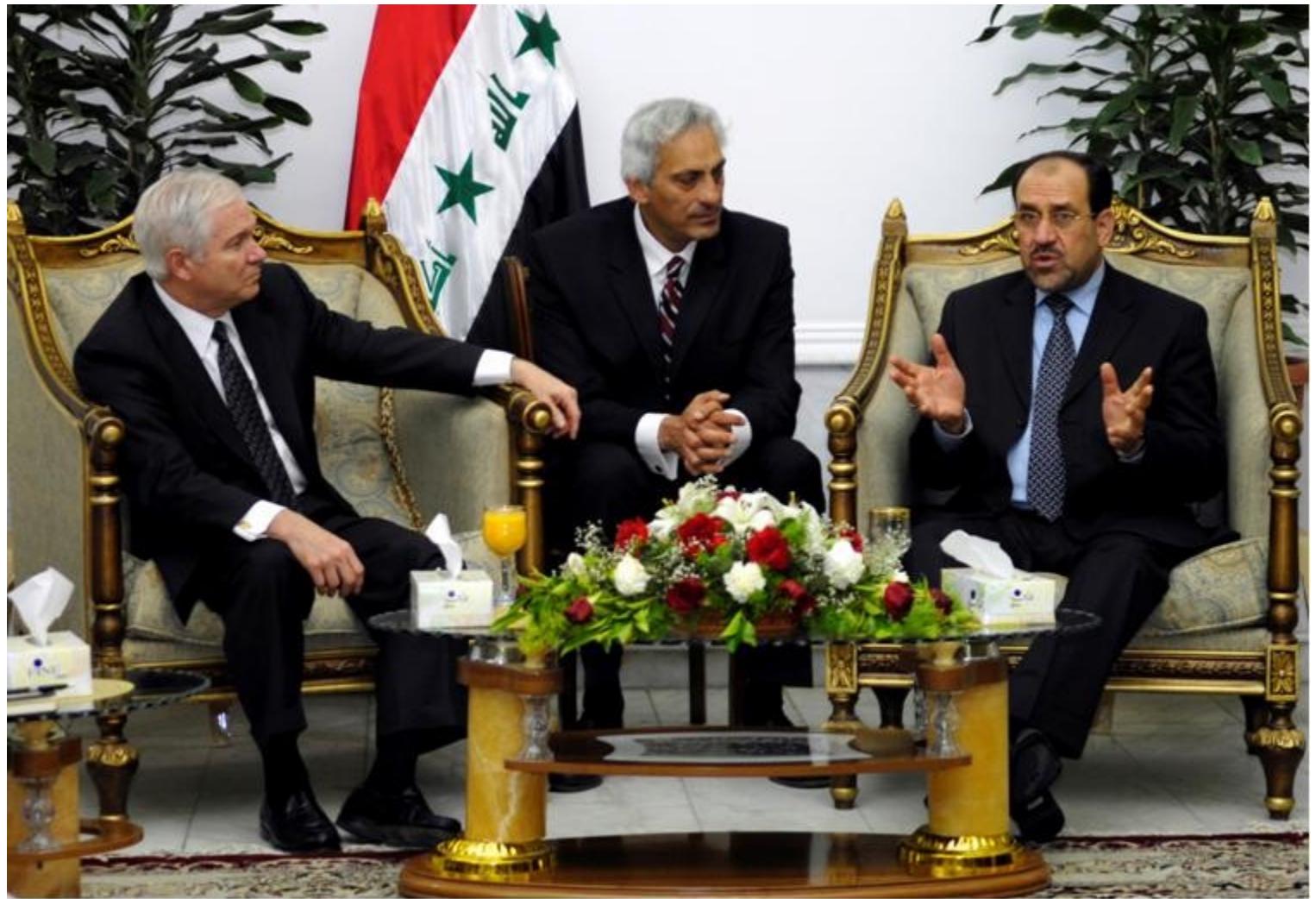
# Council on Foreign Relations & Iraq



Vice President Dick Cheney (left) meets with the Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, head of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, in Baghdad on March 17, 2008. (AFP/Getty Images)



Vice President Dick Cheney (right) shakes hands with Iraq's Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki (left) after their meeting in Baghdad, Iraq on March 17, 2008. (AFP/Getty Images)



United States Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates (left) listens as Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri al-Maliki (right) speaks during their meeting in Baghdad, Iraq on April 20, 2007. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice meets with Iraq's Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki (right) in Baghdad on October 5, 2006. (Photo: [Josie Duckett, State Department](#))



King Faisal II of Iraq (second from left) listens to Ernest A. Gross (second from right) at a party in 1952. Prince Abdul-Ilah, the Regent of Iraq, is sitting on the far right.



King Faisal II Al-Hashimi of Iraq and Prince Abdul-Ilah, Regent of Iraq, are entertained at a dinner given in their honor by Nazi collaborator Thomas J. Watson, President of IBM Corporation. Pictured from left to right: Prince Abdul-Ilah, King Faisal II, and Thomas J. Watson. From photograph album, "Visit of his Majesty the King of Iraq and his Royal Highness the Regent of Iraq to the United States of America, August 8 to September 12, 1952."

## King Faisal II of Iraq meeting Dean Acheson.



King Faisal II of Iraq meets U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson in 1952.

(Photo: <http://iraqthelastinglove.blogspot.com/2007/11/king-faisel-ii-in-united-states.html>)



U.S. Congressman Bill Richardson (D-New Mexico) visits Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein in Baghdad on July 16, 1995.  
(File Photo) [http://blog.washingtonpost.com/the-trail/2007/07/26/richardson\\_ll\\_meet\\_dictators.html](http://blog.washingtonpost.com/the-trail/2007/07/26/richardson_ll_meet_dictators.html)



Texaco Chairman and CEO Alfred C. DeCrane Jr. (right) invites Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz to the Harold Pratt House on October 5, 1989. DeCrane is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.  
(Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



Tariq Aziz shakes hands with Secretary of State James A. Baker III on January 9, 1991. This photo was published by James A. Baker III in his book *The Politics of Diplomacy*. (Reuters/Bettmann)



Left photo: Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and Baath Party member Tariq Aziz (left) meets with former U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia James Akins at the Harold Pratt House in New York City. James Akins was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.  
(Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)

Right photo: Council on Foreign Relations member Samuel W. Lewis (right), former U.S. Ambassador to Israel, invites Ahmad Chalabi (left) and Muhammad Bahr al-Ulum, the religious leader of Najaf, Iraq, to the Harold Pratt House in New York City on March 6, 1991. (Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



Iraqi Ambassador to the United Nations Nizar Hamdoon (left) visits Council on Foreign Relations President Leslie Gelb (center) and Richard N. Haass at the Harold Pratt House in New York City on December 7, 1994. (Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



ABC journalist Barbara Walters (left), Council on Foreign Relations President Leslie Gelb (center), and Iraqi Ambassador to the United Nations Nizar Hamdoon discuss issues concerning Iraq at the Harold Pratt House in New York City on February 25, 1998.  
(Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



Iraqi Ambassador to the United Nations Nizar Hamdoon (left), Carlyle Marie Murphy (center), and former U.S. Ambassador to Syria Richard W. Murphy meet at the Harold Pratt House on December 7, 1994.  
(Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



Charlayne Hunter-Gault (center) and Odeh Aburdene (right) talk to Nizar Hamdoon, the Iraqi Ambassador to the U.S., at a party in 1987. (Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



CBS journalist Dan Rather (left) visits Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein (second from right) in Baghdad.



American envoy Donald Rumsfeld (left) and Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein shake hands in Baghdad, Iraq on December 20, 1983, during the Iran-Iraq War. (Photo by Getty Images)



Ahmad Chalabi (left) and Secretary of State Colin Powell smile for the camera.



Iraqi powerbroker Ahmad Chalabi meets with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (left) and Paul Bremer (right).



Left photo: Iraqi politician Ahmad Chalabi (left) talks to Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (right).  
Right photo: Iraqi politician Ahmad Chalabi (left) talks to former CIA Director R. James Woolsey.



Left photo: Vice President Dick Cheney (left) and Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, head of the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq, speak to the press in Baghdad on March 17, 2008. (AFP/Getty images)



Right photo: Senator Joe Lieberman shakes hands with Iraqi powerbroker Ahmad Chalabi in an undated photo.



Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad Chalabi speaks to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City on November 11, 2005. A favorite of the Bush administration who fell from favor after the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Chalabi achieved a kind of political rehabilitation on a high-profile Washington visit that included meetings with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley. (CHIP EAST/Reuters/Corbis)



Iyad Allawi, President of the Iraqi Governing Council (left), James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank (second from left), and Secretary of State Colin Powell (third from left) listen to Kofi Annan at the International Donors Conference for the Reconstruction of Iraq in Madrid on October 23, 2003.



Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld (left) conducts a meeting with Prime Minister of Iraq Ayad Allawi (second from right) on September 24, 2004. The two men sitting to the left of Rumsfeld are Gen. Richard Myers and Peter W. Rodman. Both Myers and Rodman are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. Donald Rumsfeld was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates (left) meets with Iraqi President Jalal Talabani during a visit to Baghdad, Iraq, on December 20, 2006. Gates, along with Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Peter Pace, U.S. Marine Corps, is in Iraq to meet with Iraqi leaders, Army Gen. John Abizaid, commander of U.S. Central Command and Army Gen. George Casey, commander Multinational Forces-Iraq, to discuss the way ahead in Iraq. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



*Council Board member Fouad Ajami with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad Chalabi.*

This photo appears in the 2006 Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report.



Iraqi President Jalal Talabani (left), Prime Minister of Iraq-designate Nouri al-Maliki (center), and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad speak with one another at a reception at the ambassador's private residence located in the heavily fortified Green Zone area in Baghdad, Iraq on May 18, 2006. Khalilzad hosted the reception and dinner in honor of outgoing Prime Minister of Iraq Ibrahim al-Jaafari. Khalilzad is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo by Marco Di Lauro/Getty Images)



Iraq Study Group co-chairman James A. Baker III (left) and former Congressman Lee Hamilton (right) meet with Iraqi President Jalal Talabani (center) during a meeting at the Iraqi president's office in Baghdad's heavily fortified Green Zone on August 31, 2006. James A. Baker III and Lee Hamilton are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo by Daniel Berehulak/Getty Images)



U.S. Senator John Warner (left), Iraqi President Jalal Talabani (center), and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad appear at a press conference at the fortified Green Zone in Baghdad, Iraq on October 2, 2006. John Warner and Zalmay Khalilzad are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo by Ali Jasim-Pool/Getty Images)



Zalmay Khalilzad (left), the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (center) meet with Iraqi President Jalal Talabani in Baghdad, Iraq on February 17, 2007. Zalmay Khalilzad and Condoleezza Rice are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo by Sabah Arar-Pool/Getty Images)



Iraqi President Jalal Talabani (right) speaks with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (center), Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad (left) during a meeting in Baghdad, Iraq on April 26, 2006.  
(Photo by Mohammed Hato-Pool/Getty Images)



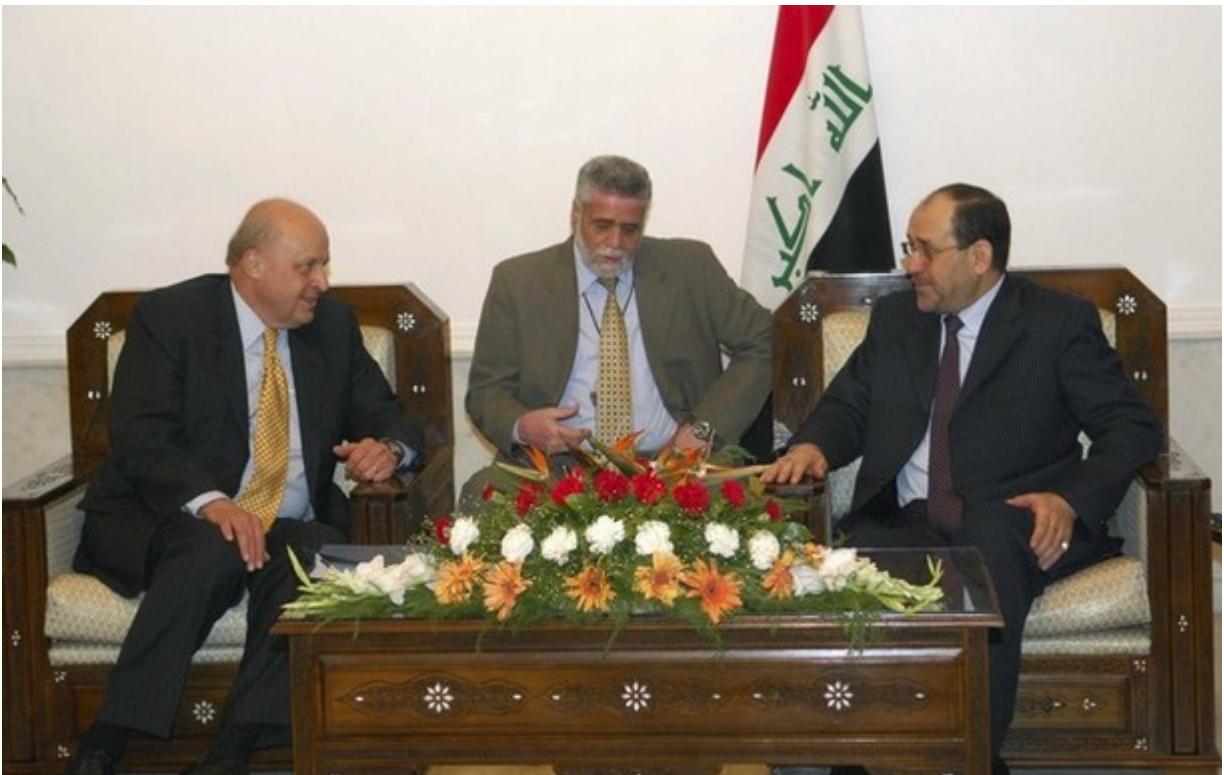
Iraqi President Jalal Talabani kisses the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad (left) before a meeting with Iraqi political leaders at Talabani's residence in Baghdad, Iraq on March 24, 2006. (Photo by Wathiq Khuzaie/Getty Images)



Former Central Intelligence Agency Director George Tenet (center) is greeted by Iraqi President Jalal Talabani (left) before a meeting in Washington, D.C. on September 25, 2006. Talabani insisted on meeting Tenet in the lobby of his hotel, telling him, "You met me at your gate when you were in office and I was out of office. Now, I'm in office and you are out of office, so I come to my gate to greet you." Talabani told the Washington Post newspaper that he wants to see a presence of 10,000 American troops and two American air bases in Iraq "long term." (Photo by Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images)



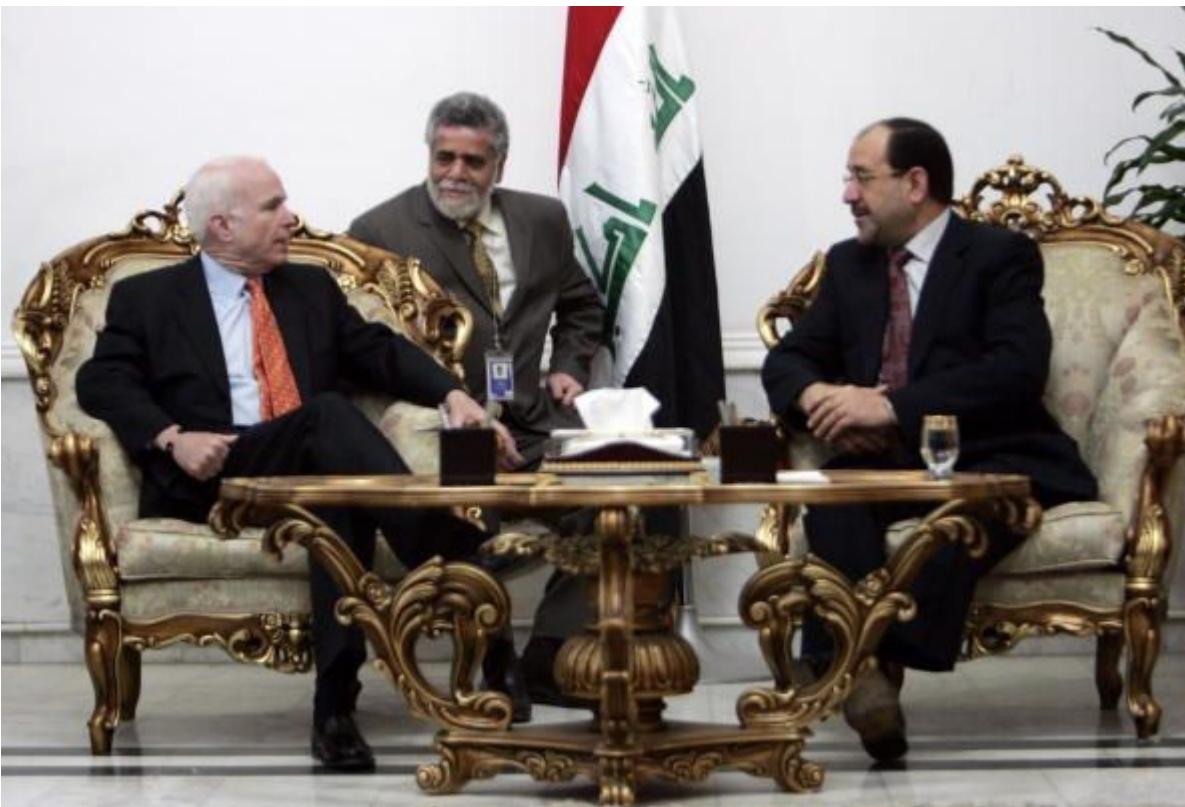
Former Central Intelligence Agency Director George Tenet (L) is greeted by Iraqi President Jalal Talabani before a meeting in Washington, D.C. on September 25, 2006. ([Photo by Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images](#))



Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte (left) visits Iraq's Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki (right) in Baghdad, Iraq on October 5, 2008. ([Reuters](#))



Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte (left) meets with President of Iraq Jalal Talabani (right) at his residence in the northern Iraqi city of Sulaimaniyah on October 4, 2008. Negroponte arrived on an unannounced visit to Iraq yesterday, the U.S. embassy in Baghdad said, adding that he will meet senior Iraqi government officials about political, security, and economic progress in the country. ([AFP/Getty Images](#))



Republican Party presidential candidate Senator John McCain (left) meets with Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri al-Maliki in Baghdad, Iraq on March 17, 2008. (Photo by Ceerwan Aziz/Pool/Getty Images)



U.S. Army Gen. David Petraeus (left), Commanding General of Multi-National Force-Iraq, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates (center), and Iraqi National Security Advisor Dr. Al Rubaie discuss Iraqi's defense issues in Baghdad, Iraq on February 10, 2008. (Photo by Air Force Tech. Sgt. Jerry Morrison, U.S. Department of Defense)



U.S. Army Gen. David Petraeus (far right), the Commanding General of Multi-National Force-Iraq, talks with Iraqi powerbroker Ahmad Chalabi (center) and U.S. Army Col. Terry Ferrell, Commander of 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 3rd Infantry Division, at Patrol Base Hawks on October 27, 2007. U.S. Army Gen. David Petraeus is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. ([Photo by Sgt. Kevin Stabinsky](#))



Iraq's President Jalal Talabani (right) smiles as he meets U.S. Army General David Petraeus (left), Commander of U.S. Central Command, during their meeting at al-Salam palace in Baghdad, Iraq on October 25, 2009. ([Reuters](#))



(Pictured from left to right) Carlos E. Pascual, Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies, the Brookings Institution speaks accompanied by Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Barham Saleh, former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Malaysian Opposition Leader Anwar Ibrahim and David Petraeus, commander of US. central command at the opening session of the U.S. - Islamic World Forum in Doha, Qatar on February 14, 2009. The forum will focus on ways to improve relations between the Islamic world and the administration of U.S. President Barack Obama. ([Reuters](#))



Left photo: Former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (R) stands next to Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Barham Saleh on the second day of the U.S.-Islamic World Forum in Doha, Qatar on February 15, 2009. The forum will focus on ways to improve relations between the Islamic world and the administration of U.S. President Barack Obama. ([Reuters](#))



Right photo: U.S. Army Gen. David Petraeus meets with Iraq's Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. General David Petraeus is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

# Persian Gulf War & Special Interests: Bilderberg Group 2003 Bilderberg Meetings: Organized Crime?



Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (right) hosts a meeting in his Pentagon office with Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaap de Hoop Scheffer (center) on September 2, 2003. Paul Wolfowitz and Jaap de Hoop Scheffer attended the 2003 Bilderberg Meetings conference held in Versailles, France near Paris in May 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense photo by R.D. Ward)



David Rockefeller (right) walks with his bodyguard at the 2003 Bilderberg Meetings in Versailles, France in May 2003.  
(Photo: <http://www.havenvideo.com/viewtopic.php?f=33&t=9230>)



The Trianon Palace Hotel in Versailles, France (near Paris) was the site of the 2003 Bilderberg Meetings held in May 2003.



The La Véranda Restaurant inside the Trianon Palace Hotel in Versailles, France

## 2003 Bilderberg Meetings Participants



Henry A. Kissinger  
Founder and Chairman of  
Kissinger Associates, Inc.  
(1982-present)



David Rockefeller  
Chairman of the board of  
Chase Manhattan Bank  
(1969-1981)



Queen Beatrix of The  
Netherlands  
(reign, 1980-2013)



Queen Sofia of Spain  
(reign, 1975-present)



King Philippe of Belgium  
(July 21, 2013-present)



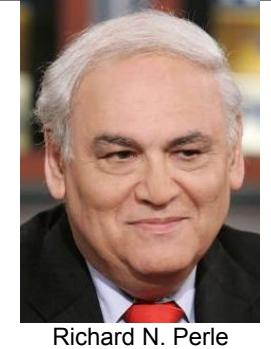
John R. Bolton  
B.A. Yale 1970  
Under Secretary of State  
for Arms Control and  
International Security  
Affairs (2001-2005)



Richard N. Haass  
Policy Planning Director  
of U.S. Department of  
State (2001-2003)



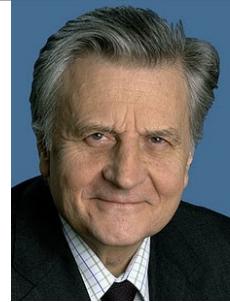
Paul D. Wolfowitz  
Ph.D. U. of Chicago 1972  
Deputy U.S. Secretary of  
Defense (2001-2005)



Richard N. Perle  
Chairman of the Defense  
Policy Board (2001-2003)



Robert B. Zoellick  
J.D. Harvard 1981  
U.S. Trade  
Representative  
(2001-2005)



Jean-Claude Trichet  
Governor of Banque de  
France (1993-2003)



Sir Mervyn Allister King  
Deputy Governor of the  
Bank of England  
(1998-2003)



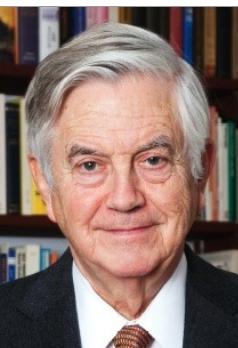
Sir James D. Wolfensohn  
M.B.A. Harvard 1959  
President of the World  
Bank (1995-2005)



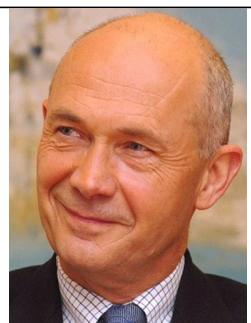
Svein Gjedrem  
Governor of the Bank of  
Norway (1999-2010)



John L. Thornton  
B.A. Harvard 1976  
President of Goldman  
Sachs & Co. (1999-2003)



Frits Bolkestein  
European Commissioner  
for Internal Market and  
Services (1999-2004)



Pascal Lamy  
European Commissioner  
for Trade (1999-2004)



Mario Monti  
European Commissioner  
for Competition  
(1999-2004)



Tommaso  
Padoa-Schioppa  
Member of the Executive  
Board of European  
Central Bank (1998-2005)

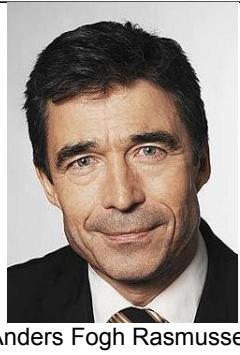


Jaap de Hoop Scheffer  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
of the Netherlands (July  
22, 2002-Dec. 3, 2003);  
Secretary-General of  
NATO (2004-2009)

				
<p>Peter D. Sutherland [Ireland] Chairman of the board of British Petroleum (1997-2009)</p>	<p>Jurgen Schrempp [Germany] Chairman of the board of DaimlerChrysler (1998-2005)</p>	<p>Jorma Ollila [Finland] Chairman of the board of Nokia (1999-2012)</p>	<p>Anthony Ruys [Netherlands] Former Chairman of the board of Heineken N.V. [beer company]</p>	<p>Claes Dahlbäck [Sweden] Chairman of Investor AB (2002-2005); Director of Goldman Sachs (2003-present)</p>
				
<p>Henri de Castries [France] Chairman of the board of AXA [French investment and insurance firm] (2000-present)</p>	<p>Philippe Camus [France] Chairman of the board of Alcatel-Lucent (2008-present); Former CEO of European Aeronautics Defence and Space Company (EADS)</p>	<p>Denis Ranque [France] Chairman and CEO, Thales Aerospace and Defence (1998-2009)</p>	<p>Franck Riboud [France] Chairman and CEO, Danone Foods</p>	<p>Philippe Villin [France] Former Vice Chairman, Lehman Brothers Europe</p>
				
<p>Daniel L. Vasella [Switzerland] Chairman of the Board of Novartis AG (1999-2013); Director of PepsiCo (2002-present)</p>	<p>Jacob Wallenberg [Sweden] Chairman of Investor AB (2005-present); Director of The Coca-Cola Co. (2008-present)</p>	<p>Hilmar Kopfer [Germany] Former Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG</p>	<p>Andre Levy-Lang [France] Former Chairman, Banque Paribas</p>	<p>Bertrand Collomb [France] Former Chairman and CEO of Lafarge; Director of DuPont (2007-present)</p>
				
<p>J. Martin Taylor [Great Britain] Chief Executive of Barclays plc (1993-1998)</p>	<p>Jeroen van der Veer [Netherlands] Chief Executive Officer of Royal Dutch Shell plc (2004-2009)</p>	<p>Paolo Scaroni [Italy] CEO, Eni S.p.A. [energy company] (2005-present); former CEO of Techint</p>	<p>Bjorn Wahlroos [Finland] Chairman of the Board of Sampo Group [financial services]</p>	<p>Rudolf Scholten [Austria] Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG</p>



José Manuel Barroso  
Prime Minister of Portugal (2002-2004);  
President of the European Commission (2004-present)



Anders Fogh Rasmussen  
Prime Minister of Denmark (2001-2009)



Otto Schily  
Minister of the Interior of Germany (1998-2005)



Gareth Williams, The Lord Williams of Mostyn  
Leader of the House of Lords (June 8, 2001–Sept. 20 2003);  
Died in office on September 20, 2003



Anna Lindh  
Foreign Minister of Sweden (1998-2003);  
Died in office on September 11, 2003



Valéry Giscard d'Estaing  
President of France (1974-1981)



Wim Kok  
Prime Minister of the Netherlands (1994-2002)



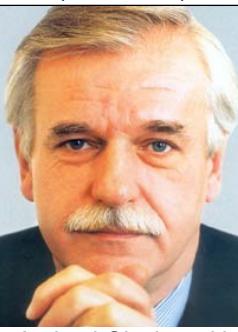
Wolfgang Schäuble  
Finance Minister of Germany (2009-present)



Kenneth Clarke  
Chancellor of the Exchequer (1993-1997)



Edward Balls  
Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer (2011-present)



Andrzej Olechowski  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland (1993-1995)



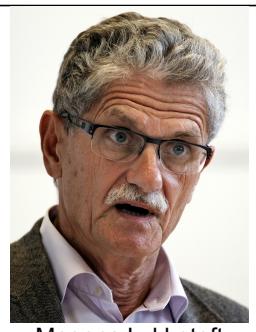
Ali Babacan  
Foreign Minister of Turkey (2007-2009)



Francisco Pinto Balsemao  
Prime Minister of Portugal (1981-1983)



Paavo Lipponen  
Prime Minister of Finland (1995-2003)



Mogens Lykketoft  
Finance Minister of Denmark (1993-2000);  
Foreign Minister of Denmark (2000-2001)



Klaas de Vries  
Minister of the Interior and Kingdom Affairs of the Netherlands (2000-2002)



Dermot Gleeson  
Former Chairman of Allied Irish Bank Group; Attorney General of Ireland (1994-1997)



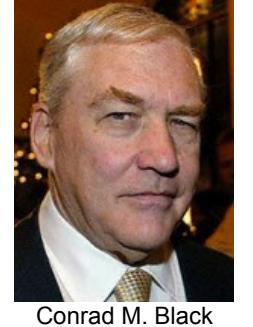
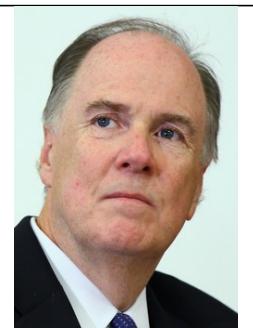
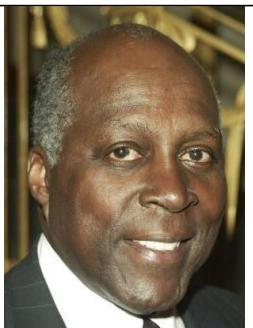
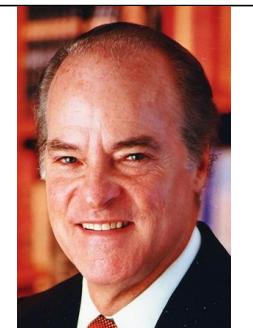
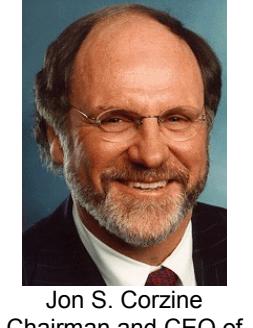
Willy Claes  
Secretary-General of NATO (1994-1995)



Dora Bakoyannis  
Mayor of Athens, Greece (2003-2006);  
Foreign Minister of Greece (2006-2009)



Eduardo Ferro Rodrigues  
Leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party (2002-2004)

				
<p>Anthony S. Fell [Canada] Chairman, RBC Dominion Securities Inc.</p>	<p>Heather Reisman [Canada] President and CEO, Indigo Books and Music Inc.</p>	<p>Margaret O. MacMillan [Canada] Former Provost of Trinity College, University of Toronto</p>	<p>Conrad M. Black [Canada] Former Chairman and CEO of Hollinger International, Inc.</p>	<p>Stephen Harper Prime Minister of Canada (2006-present); Leader of the Opposition (2002-2004, 2004-2006)</p>
				
<p>Timothy C. Collins Senior Managing Director and CEO of Ripplewood Holdings, LLC</p>	<p>Thomas E. Donilon General Counsel of Fannie Mae (1999-2005)</p>	<p>James A. Johnson Chairman and CEO of Fannie Mae (1991-1998)</p>	<p>Vernon E. Jordan Jr. Senior Managing Director of Lazard Frerres</p>	<p>Henry R. Kravis Founding Partner of Kohlberg Kravis Roberts &amp; Co. [New York City]</p>
				
<p>Marie-Josee Kravis Senior Fellow of Hudson Institute, Inc.</p>	<p>Martin S. Feldstein B.A. Harvard 1961 President and CEO of National Bureau of Economic Research (1977-1982, 1984-2008)</p>	<p>Craig J. Mundie Chief Research and Strategy Officer for Microsoft Corp. (2006-present)</p>	<p>James B. Steinberg B.A. Harvard 1973 Deputy U.S. Secretary of State (2009-2011)</p>	<p>R. Glenn Hubbard Ph.D. Harvard 1983 Dean of Columbia Business School (2004-present)</p>
				
<p>Fareed Zakaria B.A. Yale 1986 Editor of Newsweek International (2000-present)</p>	<p>Thomas L. Friedman Foreign Affairs Columnist of <i>The New York Times</i> (1995-present)</p>	<p>Paul A. Gigot Editorial Page Editor of <i>The Wall Street Journal</i></p>	<p>Allan B. Hubbard Director of National Economic Council (2005-2007)</p>	<p>Jon S. Corzine Chairman and CEO of Goldman Sachs &amp; Co. (1994-1999); U.S. Senator (D-New Jersey, 2001-2006)</p>



Etienne Davignon  
[Belgium]  
Vice Chairman of Suez-Tractebel



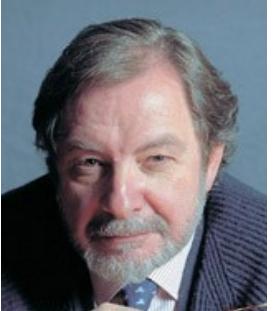
Victor Halberstadt  
[Netherlands]  
Professor of Economics at Leiden University



Thierry de Montbrial  
[France]  
President, French Institute for International Relations



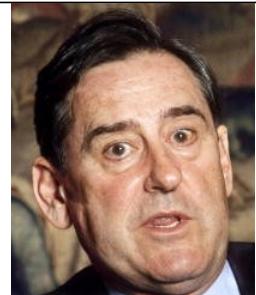
Anders Eldrup  
[Denmark]  
Former CEO, Danish Oil and Gas Corporation (DONG)



Juan Luis Cebrian  
[Spain]  
CEO of PRISA



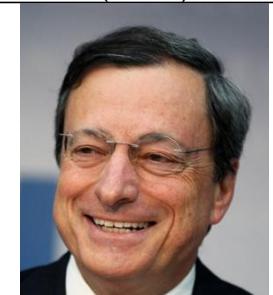
Alfredo Ambrosetti  
[Italy]  
Chairman of Abbrossetti Group



Matias Rodriguez Inciarte  
[Spain]  
Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano



Klaus Zumwinkel  
[Germany]  
Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutsche Post AG [German Post Office]



Mario Draghi  
Vice-Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International



Franco Bernabe  
[Italy]  
Former Vice Chairman of Rothschild Europe



Martin H. Wolf  
[Great Britain]  
Chief Economics Commentator, *The Financial Times*



Nicholas Beytout  
[France]  
Editor-in-Chief of *Le Figaro* [French newspaper]



Matthias Nass  
[Germany]  
Deputy Editor of *Die Zeit* [German newspaper]



Toger Seidenfaden  
[Denmark]  
Editor in Chief, *Politiken* [Danish newspaper]



Olivier Roy  
[France]  
Professor of Social and Political Theory, European University Institute [Florence, Italy]



Walter B. Kielholz  
[Switzerland]  
Former Chairman of the Board, Credit Suisse; Executive Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Swiss Re



John G. Ruggie  
Assistant UN Secretary-General and Chief Advisor for Strategic Planning to UN Secretary-General (1997-2001)



Klaus Schwab  
[International]  
President of World Economic Forum



Loukas Tsoukalis  
[Greece]  
President, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)



Lilia Shevtsova  
[Russia]  
Chair, Russian Domestic Politics and Political Institutions Program at the Carnegie Moscow Center

BILDERBERG MEETINGS  
Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A.  
30 May – 2 June 2002

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

**Honorary Chairman**

B Davignon, Etienne

Vice Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique

**Participants**

USA	Allaire, Paul A.	Former Chairman and CEO, Xerox Corporation
CDN	Baillie, A. Charles	Chairman and CEO, TD Bank Financial Group
GB	Balls, Edward	Chief Economic Advisor to the Treasury
P	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.
F	Belot, Jean de	Editor-in-Chief, Le Figaro
USA	Bergsten, C. Fred	Director, Institute for International Economics
N	Bernander, John G.	Director General, Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation
CDN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited
INT	Bolkestein, Frits	Commissioner, European Commission
P	Borges, António	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs
USA	Boyd, Charles G.	President and CEO, Business Executives for National Security
F	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Board, AXA
E	Cebrian, Juan Luis	CEO, Prisa (El País)
F	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
CH	Couchepin, Pascal	Federal Councillor; Head of the Federal Department of Economic Affairs
GB	Dahrendorf, Ralf	Member, House of Lords; Former Warden, St. Antony's College, Oxford
USA	Dam, Kenneth W.	Deputy Secretary, US Department of Treasury
GR	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
USA	David-Weill, Michel A.	Chairman, Lazard Frères & Co.
TR	Dervis, Kemal	Minister of Economic Affairs
USA	Deutch, John M.	Institute Professor, MIT
USA	Dinh, Viet D.	Assistant Attorney General for Office of Policy Development
I	Donilon, Thomas E.	Executive Vice President, Fannie Mae
USA	Draghi, Mario	Vice Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International
USA	Eizenstat, Stuart	Covington & Burling
DK	Eldrup, Anders	Chairman of the Board of Directors, Danish Oil & Gas Consortium
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
P	Ferreira, Elisa Guimarães	Member of Parliament, Former Minister of Planning
USA	Foley, Thomas S.	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld
INT	Fortescue, Adrian	Director General, Justice and Internal Affairs, European Commission
CDN	Frum, David	American Enterprise Institute; Former Special Assistant to President Bush
F	Gergorin, Jean-Louis	Executive Vice President, Strategic Coordination, EADS
USA	Gigot, Paul A.	Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal
USA	Greenspan, Alan	Chairman, Federal Reserve System
NL	Groenink, Rijkman W.J.	Chairman of the Board, ABN AMRO Bank N.V.
A	Gusenbauer, Alfred	Member of Parliament; Chairman, Social Democratic Party
NL	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Hills, Carla A.	Chairman and CEO, Hills & Company, International Consultants
USA	Hoagland, Jim	Associate Editor, The Washington Post
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	President, E&A Industries
USA	Hutchison, Kay Bailey	Senator (Republican, Texas)
B	Huyghebaert, Jan	Chairman, Almanij N.V.
D	Ischinger, Wolfgang	Ambassador to the US
USA	James, Charles A.	Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, L.L.C.
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. LLC

USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.
NL	Kist, Ewald	Chairman of the Board ING N.V.
NL	Kleisterlee, Gerard J.	President and CEO, Royal Philips Electronics
D	Kopper, Hilmar	Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG
USA	Krauthammer, Charles	Columnist, The Washington Post
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Josée	Senior Fellow - Hudson Institute Inc.
CH	Kudelski, André	Chairman of the Board & CEO, Kudelski Group
USA	LaFalce, John J.	Congressman (Democrat, New York)
USA	Leschly, Jan	Chairman & CEO, Care Capital LLC
F	Levy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
B	Lippens, Maurice	Chairman, Fortis
USA	Mathews, Jessica T.	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	McAuliffe, Terry	Chairman, Democratic National Committee
USA	McDonough, William J.	President and CEO, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
E	Miguel, Ramón de	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
USA	Mitchell, Andrea	Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent, NBC News
F	Moïsi, Dominique	Deputy Director, French Institute of International Relations
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	Director, French Institute of International Relations
USA	Moskow, Michael H.	President, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago
N	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman, Norsk Hydro ASA
FIN	Ollia, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
CDN	Ostry, Sylvia	Distinguished Research Fellow, Center for International Studies, University of Toronto
TR	Ozaydinli, Bulend	CEO, Koç Holding A.S.
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
GR	Papahelas, Alexis	Foreign policy columnist. TO VIMA
USA	Pearl, Frank H.	Chairman and CEO, Perseus, L.L.C.
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
D	Polenz, Ruprecht	Member of Parliament, CDU/CSU
USA	Prestowitz, Jr., Clyde V.	President, Economic Strategy Institute
USA	Racicot, Mark	Chairman, Republican National Committee
USA	Raines, Franklin D.	Chairman and CEO, Fannie Mae
A	Randa, Gerhard	Chairman and CEO, Bank Austria AG
USA	Rattner, Steven	Managing Principal, Quadrangle Group LLC
CDN	Reisman, Heather	President and CEO, Indigo Books and Music Inc.
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member, JP Morgan International Council
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matías	Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano
GB	Roll, Eric	Senior Adviser, UBS Warburg Ltd.
USA	Rose, Charlie	Producer, Rose Communications
F	Roy, Olivier	University Professor and Researcher, CNRS
USA	Rumsfeld, Donald H.	Secretary of Defense
TR	Sanberk, Özdem	Director, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, DaimlerChrysler AG
D	Schulz, Ekkehard	Chairman, ThyssenKrupp AG
F	Schweitzer, Louis	Chairman and CEO, Renault S.A.
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor-in-Chief, Politiken
F	Seilliere, Ernest-Antoine	Chairman and CEO, CGIP
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Senior Associate, Carnegie Moscow Center
USA	Siegmant, Henry	Council on Foreign Relations
USA	Soros, George	Chairman, Soros Fund Management
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program
N	Stoltenberg, Jens	Leader of the Opposition (Social Democratic Party)
USA	Summers, Lawrence H.	President, Harvard University
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman BP Amoco
FIN	Taxell, Christoffer	President and CEO, Partek Oyj
USA	Thoman, G. Richard	Senior Advisor, Evercore Partners Inc.
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and co-CEO, The Goldman Sachs Group Inc.

FIN	Tiilikainen, Teija H.	Director of Research, Centre for European Studies
S	Treschow, Michael	Chairman, Ericsson
F	Trichet, Jean-Claude	Governor, Banque de France
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
USA	Vink, Lodewijk J. R. de	Chairman, Global Health Care Partners; Credit Suisse First
A	Vranitzky, Franz	Former Federal Chancellor
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
CDN	Whyte, Kenneth	Editor, The National Post
GB	Williams, Gareth	Leader, House of Lords; Member of the Cabinet
INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
D	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman of the Board of Management, Deutsche Post AG

#### Rapporteurs

GB	Micklethwait, R. John	United States Editor, The Economist
GB	Wooldridge, Adrian D.	Foreign Correspondent, The Economist

#### In Attendance

NL	Maja Banck	Executive Secretary, Bilderberg Meetings
USA	Michael J. Farren	Vice President of External Affairs, Xerox Corporation; Adviser, American Friends of Bilderberg, Inc.
USA	Steven S. Lee	Local Organizer 2002

Source: 2002 Bilderberg Meeting Report, Library of Congress

# BILDERBERG MEETINGS

Versailles, France

15-18 May 2003

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Honorary Chairman

B Davignon, Etienne

Vice-Chairman, Societe Generale de Belgique

### Honorary Secretary General

GB Taylor, J. Martin

Chairman WH Smith PLC; International Advisor, Goldman Sachs International

F	Adler, Alexandre	Editorial Counsel, Le Figaro
I	Ambrosetti, Alfredo	Chairman Ambrosetti Group
TR	Babacan, Ali	Minister of Economic Affairs
GR	Bakoyannis, Dora	Mayor of Athens
GB	Balls, Edward	Chief Economic Advisor to the Treasury
P	Balsemao, Francisco Pinto	Professor of Communication Science, New University, Lisbon; Chairman and CEO, IMPRESA, S.G.P.S.; Former Prime Minister
P	Barroso, José M. Durão	Prime Minister
TR	Bayar, Mehmet A.	Deputy Chairman of DYP (True Path Party)
A	Becker, Erich	Chairman of the Managing Board and CEO, VA Technologie AG
I	Bendetti, Rodolfo de	Managing Director CIR S.p.A.
I	Bernabe, Franco	Chairman Franco Bernabe & C. S.p.A.
F	Beytout, Nicolas	Editor-in-Chief, Les Echos
KW	Bishara, Ahmad E.	Secretary General of Kuwait's Liberal National Democratic Party
CDN	Black, Conrad M.	Chairman, Telegraph Group Limited
INT	Bolkestein, Frits	Internal Markets Commissioner, European Commission
USA	Bolton, John R.	Under-Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security
F	Bon, Michel	Honorary Chairman, France Telecom
F	Bruguière, Jean-Louis	First Vice President, Justice Department
D	Burda, Hubert	Publisher and CEO, Hubert Burda Media Holding GmbH & Co.
F	Camus, Phillippe	CEO, European Aeronautics Defence and Space Company (EADS)
INT	Cary, Anthony J.	Head of Christopher Patten's Cabinet, EU
F	Castries, Henri de	Chairman of the Board, AXA
E	Cebrian, Juan Luis	CEO, PRISA
B	Claes, Willy	Minister of State
GB	Clarke, Kenneth	Member of Parliament; former Chancellor of the Exchequer
USA	Collins, Timothy C.	Senior Managing Director and CEO, Ripplewood Holdings LLC
F	Collomb, Bertrand	Chairman and CEO, Lafarge
F	Copé, Jean-François	Secretary of State in charge of relations with Parliament; Government Spokesman
USA	Corzine, Jon S.	Senator (D, New Jersey)
S	Dahlbäck, Claes	Chairman, Investor AB
GR	David, George A.	Chairman of the Board, Coca-Cola H.B.C. S.A.
USA	Donilon, Thomas E.	Executive Vice President, Fannie Mae
I	Draghi, Mario	Vice-Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International
DK	Eldrup, Anders	CEO, Danish Oil and Gas Corporation
USA	Feldstein, Martin S.	President and CEO, National Bureau of Economic Research
CDN	Fell, Anthony S.	Chairman, RBC Dominion Securities Inc.
USA	Friedman, Thomas L.	Foreign Affairs Columnist, The New York Times
F	Gergorin, Jean-Luis	Executive Vice President, Strategic Coordination, European Aeronautics Defence and Space Company (EADS)
USA	Gigot, Paul A.	Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal
F	Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry	French President (1974-1981); Chairman of the Convention on the Future of Europe
N	Gjedrem, Svein	Governor, Central Bank of Norway
IRL	Gleeson, Dermot	Chairman designate, Allied Irish Banks, p.l.c.

GB	Gould, Philip	Public Relations Adviser to Prime Minister Blair
USA	Haass, Richard N.	Director, Office of Policy Planning Staff, State Department
NL	Halberstadt, Victor	Professor of Economics, Leiden University; Former Honorary Secretary General of Bilderberg Meetings
CDN	Harper, Stephen	Leader of the Opposition
USA	Hertog, Roger	Vice-Chairman, Alliance Capital Management
NL	Hoop Scheffer, Jaap G. de	Minister for Foreign Affairs
USA	Hubbard, Allan B.	President, E&A Industries
USA	Hubbard, R. Glenn	Russell L. Carson Professor of Economics and Finance, Columbia University
USA	Johnson, James A.	Vice Chairman, Perseus, L.L.C.
USA	Jordan, Jr., Vernon E.	Senior Managing Director, Lazard Frères & Co. L.L.C.
CH	Kielholz, Walter B.	Former Chairman of the Board, Credit Suisse; Executive Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors, Swiss Re
GB	King, Mervyn A.	Deputy Governor, Bank of England
USA	Kissinger, Henry A.	Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; Member, Defense Policy Board; Member, J.P. Morgan International Council
FIN	Kivinen, Olli	Senior Editor & Columnist, Helsingin Sanomat
NL	Kok, Wim	Former Prime Minister
D	Kopper, Hilmar	Former Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Deutsche Bank AG
USA	Kravis, Henry R.	Founding Partner, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co.
USA	Kravis, Marie-Joséé	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute, Inc.
INT	Lamy, Pascal	Trade Commissioner, European Commission
F	Lellouche, Pierre	Vice Chairman, NATO Parliamentary Assembly
F	Levy-Lang, André	Former Chairman, Paribas
S	Lindh, Anna	Minister for Foreign Affairs
FIN	Lipponen, Paavo	Former Prime Minister; Speaker of the Parliament
DK	Lykketoft, Mogens	Chairman, Social Democrat Party
CDN	MacMillan, Margaret O.	Provost, Trinity College, University of Toronto
RUS	Margelov, Mikhail V.	Chairman, Committee for Foreign Affairs, Council of Federation
F	Montbrial, Thierry de	President, French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)
INT	Monti, Mario	Competition Commissioner, European Commission
USA	Mundie, Craig J.	Chief Technical Officer, Advanced Strategies and Policy, Microsoft Corporation
N	Myklebust, Egil	Chairman, Norsk Hydro ASA
D	Naas, Matthias	Deputy Editor, Die Zeit
NL	Netherlands, H.M. the Queen of the	
PL	Olechowski, Andrzej	Leader, Civic Platform
FIN	Ollila, Jorma	Chairman of the Board and CEO, Nokia Corporation
INT	Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso	Member of the Executive Board, European Central Bank
I	Panara, Marco	Journalist, La Repubblica
I	Passera, Corrado	Managing Director, Banca IntesaBCI
USA	Perkovich, George	Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
USA	Perle, Richard N.	Member, Defense Policy Board; Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (AEI) for Public Policy Research; Member, Project for a New American Century (PNAC)
B	Philippe, H.R.H. Prince	
I	Poli, Roberto	Chairman, Eni S.p.A.
F	Ranque, Denis	Chairman and CEO, Thales Aerospace and Defence
DK	Rasmussen, Anders Fogh	Prime Minister
CDN	Reisman, Heather	President and CEO, Indigo Books & Music Inc.
F	Riboud, Franck	Chairman and CEO, Danone Foods
CH	Ringier, Michael	CEO, Ringier AG
USA	Rockefeller, David	Member, J.P. Morgan International Council
P	Rodrigues, Eduardo Ferro	Leader of the Socialist Party; Member of Parliament
E	Rodriguez Inciarte, Matias	Executive Vice Chairman, Banco Santander Central Hispano
F	Roy, Olivier	Senior Researcher, CNRS
USA	Ruggie, John	Director, Center for Business and Government, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
NL	Ruys, Anthony	Chairman of the Board, Heineken N.V.
TR	Sanberk, Özdem	Director, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation

I	Scaroni, Paolo	Managing Director, Enel S.p.A.
D	Schäuble, Wolfgang	Deputy Parliamentary Leader, CDU/CSU Group
D	Schily, Otto	Minister of the Interior
A	Scholten, Rudolf	Member of the Board of Executive Directors, Oesterreichische Kontrollbank AG
D	Schrempp, Jurgen E.	Chairman of the Board of Management, Daimler Chrysler AG
INT	Schwab, Klaus	President, World Economic Forum
DK	Seidenfaden, Toger	Editor in Chief, Politiken
RUS	Shevtsova, Lilia	Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
E	Spain, H.M. the Queen of	
USA	Steinberg, James B.	Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution
CDN	Steyn, Mark	Journalist for various publications
IRL	Sutherland, Peter D.	Chairman and Managing Director, Goldman Sachs International; Chairman, BP Amoco
USA	Thornton, John L.	President and CEO, Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.
F	Trichet, Jean Claude	Governor, Banque de France
GR	Tsoukalis, Loukas	Professor, University of Athens; President Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy
A	Trumpel-Gugerell, Gertrude	Vice Governor, Central Bank of Austria
CH	Vasella, Daniel L.	Chairman and CEO, Novartis AG
NL	Veer, Jeroen van der	President, Royal Dutch Petroleum Company; Vice Chairman of the Committee of Managing Directors of Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies
F	Villin, Philippe	Vice Chairman, Lehman Brothers Europe
NL	Vries, Klaas de	Member of Parliament (Labour); Former Minister of the Interior
FIN	Wahlroos, Björn	President and CEO, Sampo plc.
S	Wallenberg, Jacob	Chairman of the Board, Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken
GB	Williams, Gareth	Leader of the House of Lords
GB	Wolf, Martin H.	Associate Editor/Economics Commentator, The Financial Times
USA/INT	Wolfensohn, James D.	President, The World Bank
USA	Wolfowitz, Paul	Deputy Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense
USA	Zakaria, Fareed	Editor, Newsweek International
USA	Zoellick, Robert	Principal Trade Adviser to the President
D	Zumwinkel, Klaus	Chairman, Deutsche Post Worldnet AG

#### Rapporteurs

GB	Micklethwait, R. John	United States Editor, The Economist
GB	Rachman, Gideon	Brussels Correspondent, The Economist

Source: <http://www.bilderberg.org/2003.htm>

# Persian Gulf War & Special Interests: Council on Foreign Relations War Profiteers or Damn Yankees?



Texaco Chairman and CEO Alfred C. DeCrane Jr. (right) invites Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz to the Harold Pratt House in New York City on October 5, 1989. DeCrane is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.  
(Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



Harold Pratt House, the headquarters of the Council on Foreign Relations, is located on southwest corner of Park Avenue and 68<sup>th</sup> Street in the Manhattan borough of New York City.



Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad Chalabi speaks to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City on November 11, 2005. A favorite of the Bush administration who fell from favor after the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Chalabi achieved a kind of political rehabilitation on a high-profile Washington visit that included meetings with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley. (CHIP EAST/Reuters/Corbis)



*Council Board member Fouad Ajami with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad Chalabi.*

This photo appears in the 2006 Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report.



U.S. Army General David Petraeus, Commander of U.S. Central Command, speaks about Iraq at the Association of the United States Army (AUSA) annual meeting in Washington, D.C. on October 6, 2009. (Reuters) <http://www.daylife.com/photo/04dJ7FG7W2eis?q=david+petraeus>



U.S. Gen. David Petraeus (L), Commander of U.S. Central Command, looks on as former U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz speaks during the George P. Shultz Lecture Series at the Marines Memorial Club in San Francisco, California, U.S.A. on July 9, 2009. Gen. Petraeus was the guest speaker at the George P. Shultz Lecture Series. David Petraeus and George Shultz are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Getty Images) <http://www.daylife.com/photo/011Tcgnaqz4y?q=david+petraeus>

Directors of the Council on Foreign Relations during the First Persian Gulf War [Operation Desert Storm] (1990-1991)



Peter G. Peterson, Paul A. Volcker, Warren Christopher, Harold Brown, John S. Reed, James D. Robinson III



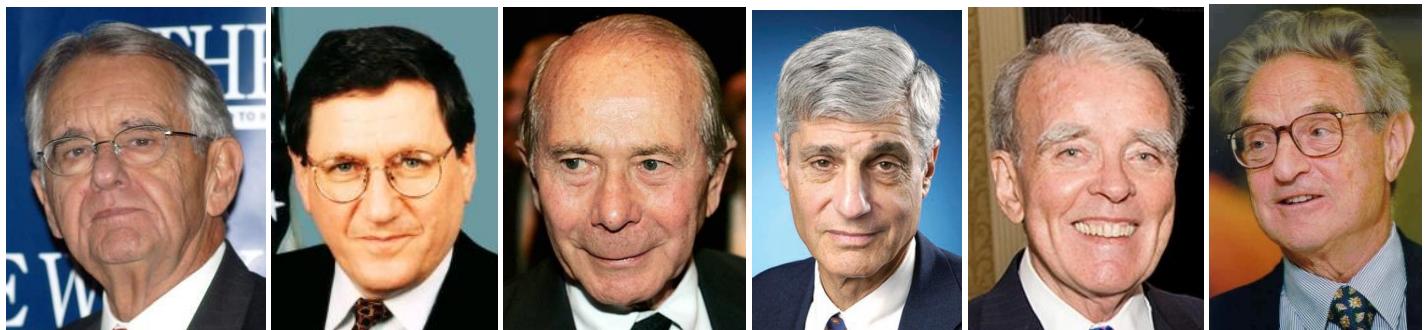
Strobe Talbott, Karen Elliott House, Thomas S. Foley, William S. Cohen, Clifton R. Wharton Jr., Peter Tarnoff



Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., Adm. Bobby R. Inman, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Donald F. McHenry, Alice M. Rivlin, Charles McC. Mathias Jr.

Name	Director (Year)	Occupation in 1990-1991
Peter G. Peterson	1973-1983, 1984-2007	Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations (1985-2007)
Paul A. Volcker	1975-1979, 1988-1999	Chairman of James D. Wolfensohn, Inc. (1988-1996); Professor of International Economic Policy at Princeton University (1988-1995)
Warren Christopher	1982-1991	Partner of O'Melveny & Myers [law firm] (1958-1967, 1969-1976, 1981-1993)
Harold Brown	1983-1992	Partner of Warburg, Pincus & Co. (1990-2007)
Stanley Hoffmann	1983-1992	Professor of Government at Harvard University (1963-present)
Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1983-1992	Chairman and CEO of TIAA-CREF (1987-1993)
Donald F. McHenry	1984-1993	Professor of Diplomacy and Int'l Relations at Georgetown Univ. (1981-present)
(Adm.) Bobby R. Inman	1985-1993	
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985-1994	Professor of Political Science at Georgetown University (1973-2002)
Charles McC. Mathias Jr.	1986-1992	Partner of Jones, Day, Reavis and Pogue [law firm] (1987-1993)
Ruben F. Mettler	1986-1992	
Peter Tarnoff	1986-1993	President of the Council on Foreign Relations (1986-1993)
James E. Burke	1987-1995	
Robert F. Erburu	1987-1998	Chairman and CEO of The Times Mirror Co. (1986-1995)
Karen Elliott House	1987-1998, 2003-2008	Vice President of the international group, Dow Jones & Co. (1989-1995)
Rep. Thomas S. Foley	1988-1994	Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives (1989-1995)
James D. Robinson III	1988-1991	Chairman and CEO of American Express Co. (1977-1993)
Strobe Talbott	1988-1993	Editor-at-Large and Foreign Affairs Columnist for <i>Time</i> magazine (1989-1993)
John L. Clendenin	1989-1994	Chairman, President, and CEO of BellSouth Corporation (1984-1996)
Sen. William S. Cohen	1989-1997	U.S. Senator (R-Maine, 1979-1997)
Joshua Lederberg	1989-1998	Professor at Rockefeller University (1990-c.1995)
John S. Reed	1989-1992	Chairman and CEO of Citibank (1984-1998)
Alice M. Rivlin	1989-1992	Member of the staff of The Brookings Institution (1957-66, 1969-1975, 1983-1993)
(Adm.) William J. Crowe Jr.	1990-1993	Professor of Geopolitics at University of Oklahoma (1989-1994)
Thomas R. Donahue	1990-2001	Secretary-Treasurer of AFL-CIO (1979-1995)

Directors of the Council on Foreign Relations during the Second Persian Gulf War [Operation Iraqi Freedom] (2003)



Peter G. Peterson, Richard C. Holbrooke, Maurice R. Greenberg, Robert E. Rubin, William J. McDonough, George Soros



Louis V. Gerstner Jr., John Deutch, Michael H. Moskow, Carla A. Hills, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Karen Elliott House

Name	Director (Year)	Occupation in 2003
Peter G. Peterson	1973-1983, 1984-2007	Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations (1985-2007)
Karen Elliott House	1987-1998, 2003-2008	Publisher of <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> (2002-2005)
Richard C. Holbrooke	1991-1993, 1996-1999, 2001-2009	Vice Chairman of Perseus LLC (2001-2009)
Robert D. Hormats	1991-2004	Vice Chairman of Goldman Sachs International (1987-2009)
Maurice R. Greenberg	1992-2002, 2004-2009	Chairman and CEO of American International Group (1989-2005)
Leslie H. Gelb	1993-2001, 2002-2003	President of the Council on Foreign Relations (1993-2003)
Theodore C. Sorenson	1993-2004	Senior Counsel of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
Garrick Utley	1993-2003	NBC and CNN Correspondent
Carla A. Hills	1994-present	Chairman and CEO of Hills & Company International Consultants (1993-pres.)
Peggy Dulany	1995-2003	Chairman of The Synergos Institute
Jessica P. Einhorn	1995-2005	Dean of Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University (2002-2012)
William J. McDonough	1995-2004	President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1993-2003)
George Soros	1995-2004	Chairman of Soros Fund Management (1996-present)
George J. Mitchell	1995-2005	
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1995-2005	Chairman of the Carlyle Group (2003-2008)
Lee Cullum	1996-2006	Columnist for <i>Dallas Morning News</i> (1992-present)
Vincent A. Mai	1997-2003	
Warren B. Rudman	1997-2005	Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1993-2003)
Laura D'Andrea Tyson	1997-2007	Dean of London Business School of Economics (2002-2006)
Martin S. Feldstein	1998-2008, 2009-present	President of National Bureau of Economic Research (1977-1982, 1984-2008)
Bette Bao Lord	1998-2003	
Michael H. Moskow	1998-2008	President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago (1994-2007)
John Deutch	1999-2004	Professor of Chemistry at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1971-pres.)
Robert E. Rubin	2000-present	Member of the board of directors of Citigroup (1999-present)
Andrew Young	2000-2005	
Henry S. Bienen	2001-2011	President of Northwestern University (1995-2009)
Kenneth M. Duberstein	2001-2012	
Joan E. Spero	2001-2011	President of Doris Duke Charitable Foundation (1997-present)
Vin Weber	2001-2011, 2012-present	
Fouad Ajami	2002-2012	Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at Johns Hopkins University
Ronald L. Olson	2002-2010	Partner of Munger, Tolles & Olson [law firm]
Jeffrey L. Bewkes	2002-2006	Chairman of Entertainment and Networks group, Time Warner, Inc. (2002-05)
Thomas R. Pickering	2002-2007	Senior Vice President for International Relations, The Boeing Co. (2001-2006)
Helene D. Gayle	2003-2008	
Richard N. Haass	2003-present	President of the Council on Foreign Relations (2003-present)
Richard E. Salomon	2003-present	Chairman of Mecox Ventures
Anne-Marie Slaughter	2003-2009	Dean of Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University (2002-2009)

**Council on Foreign Relations Members and Their Occupation during the Persian Gulf War (1990-1991):**

Name	CFR Membership (Year)	Primary Occupation
<b>Government Officials:</b>		
Brent Scowcroft	1974-present	National Security Advisor (1989-1993)
Robert M. Gates	1983-present	Deputy National Security Advisor (March 20, 1989-November 6, 1991)
William H. Webster	1987-present	Director of Central Intelligence Agency (May 26, 1987-August 31, 1991)
Richard B. "Dick" Cheney	1982-present	U.S. Secretary of Defense (1989-1993)
Paul D. Wolfowitz	1974-1979, 1981-present	Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (1989-1993)
Richard N. Perle	1978-2003	Member of the Defense Policy Board, U.S. Department of Defense (1987-2004)
Henry S. Rowen	1966-present	Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (1989-1991)
Donald B. Rice	1983-1998	Secretary of the Air Force (1989-1993)
Gen. Colin L. Powell	1986-present	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1989-1993)
Gen. Carl E. Vuono	1988-present	Army Chief of Staff (June 23, 1987-June 21, 1991)
Gen. Merrill A. McPeak	1989-present	Air Force Chief of Staff (1990-1994)
Gen. John R. Galvin, Army	1988-2002	Supreme Allied Commander of Europe (1987-1992)
Gen. John T. Chain Jr.	1984-1996	Commander-in-Chief, Strategic Air Command (June 1986-January 1991)
Gen. George Lee Butler	1983-2002	Commander-in-Chief, Strategic Air Command (January 1991- June 1992)
Lt. Gen. Bradley C. Hosmer	1974-present	Inspector General of the United States Air Force (September 1989-June 1991)
Lt. Gen. Ronald R. Fogleman	1986-present	Commander of 7th Air Force, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of United Nations Command Korea, and Deputy Commander of U.S. Forces Korea (1990-1992)
Maj. Gen. Marcus A. Anderson	1987-2002	Commander, 3rd Air Force at RAF Station Mildenhall (June 1988-July 1991)
Maj. Gen. Frank B. Horton III	1984-1996	Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Strategic Air Command (1990-1992)
Brig. Gen. Wesley K. Clark	1975-1979, 1983-present	Commander, National Training Center [Ft. Irwin, California] (1989-1991)
Vice Adm. Jerome L. Johnson	1989-1992	Vice Chief of Naval Operations (1990-1992)
Lawrence S. Eagleburger	1974-2010	Deputy Secretary of State (1989-1992)
Robert M. Kimmitt	1977-1982, 1985-present	Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (March 2, 1989-August 23, 1991)
Reginald Bartholomew	1976-present	Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs (1989-1992)
Herman J. Cohen	1990-present	Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs (1989-1993)
Richard H. Solomon	1979-present	Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1989-1992)
Dennis B. Ross	1988-present	Director of State Department Policy Planning Staff (1989-1992)
Brandon H. Grove Jr.	1986-2008	Director of the Foreign Service Institute [State Department] (1988-1992)
Thomas R. Pickering	1975-present	U.S. Representative to the United Nations (1989-1992)
William Howard Taft IV	1984-present	U.S. Representative to NATO (1989-1992)
Morris B. Abram	1965-2000	U.S. Representative to the United Nations European Office (1989-1993)
Jack F. Matlock Jr.	1986-present	U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union (April 6, 1987- August 11, 1991)
Henry E. Catto Jr.	1973-present	U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain (May 17, 1989-March 13, 1991)
Frank G. Wisner II	1975-present	U.S. Ambassador to Egypt (August 28, 1986- June 6, 1991)
Morton I. Abramowitz	1975-present	U.S. Ambassador to Turkey (August 1, 1989-July 25, 1991)
Robert B. Oakley	1990-2009	U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan (September 1, 1988-August 29, 1991)
Michael H. Armacost	1977-present	U.S. Ambassador to Japan (1989-1993)
Nicholas Platt	1975-present	U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines (August 27, 1987-July 20, 1991)
Deane R. Hinton	1975-present	U.S. Ambassador to Panama (1990-1994)
John D. Negroponte	1981-present	U.S. Ambassador to Mexico (1989-1993)
Terence A. Todman	1979-present	U.S. Ambassador to Argentina (1989-1993)
Roy M. Huffington	1980-2008	U.S. Ambassador to Austria (1990-1993)
Edward N. Ney	1975-present	U.S. Ambassador to Canada (1989-1992)
Warren Zimmermann	1978-2003	U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia (1989-1992)
Shirley Temple Black	1977-2013	U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia (1989-1992)
Frances D. Cook	1983-present	U.S. Ambassador to Cameroon (1989-1993)
Condoleezza Rice	1984-present	Senior Nat'l Security Director of Soviet and East European Affairs (1989-1991)
Nicholas F. Brady	1983-present	Secretary of the Treasury (1988-1993)
Robert R. Glauber	1990-present	Under Secretary of the Treasury for Finance (1989-1993)
David C. Mulford	1970-present	Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs (1989-1992)
Dick Thornburgh	1988-present	U.S. Attorney General (August 12, 1988- August 15, 1991)
Elaine L. Chao	1983-1988, 1990-present	Deputy Secretary of Transportation (1989-1991)
Richard G. Darman	1977-1993	Director of the Office of Management and Budget (1989-1993)
George J. Mitchell	1990-present	U.S. Senator (Democrat-Maine, 1980-1995) U.S. Senate Majority Leader (1989-1995)
Claiborne Pell	1966-2008	U.S. Senator (Democrat-Rhode Island, 1961-1997)
William V. Roth Jr.	1973-2003	U.S. Senator (Republican-Delaware, 1971-2001)
John H. Chafee	1982-1999	U.S. Senator (Republican-Rhode Island, 1976-1999)
Daniel P. Moynihan	1975-2002	U.S. Senator (Democrat-New York, 1977-2001)
David L. Boren	1989-present	U.S. Senator (Democrat-Oklahoma, 1979-1994)
William S. Cohen	1981-present	U.S. Senator (Republican-Maine, 1979-1997)
Larry Pressler	1986-present	U.S. Senator (Republican-South Dakota, 1979-1997)
Warren B. Rudman	1984-2012	U.S. Senator (Republican-New Hampshire, 1981-1993)
Christopher J. Dodd	1985-present	U.S. Senator (Democrat-Connecticut, 1981-2011)
John D. Rockefeller IV	1978-present	U.S. Senator (Democrat-West Virginia, 1985-present)
Terry Sanford	1981-1997	U.S. Senator (Democrat-North Carolina, 1986-1993)

Bob Graham	1981-present	U.S. Senator (Democrat-Florida, 1987-2005)
Timothy E. Wirth	1987-present	U.S. Senator (Democrat-Colorado, 1987-1993)
Charles S. Robb	1987-present	U.S. Senator (Democrat-Virginia, 1989-2001)
Thomas S. Foley	1984-present	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Washington, 1965-1995) Speaker of the House (1989-1995)
Amory Houghton Jr.	1970-present	U.S. Congressman (Republican-New York, 1987-2005)
Dante B. Fascell	1973-1998	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Florida, 1955-1993)
Stephen J. Solarz	1978-present	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-New York, 1975-1993)
William B. "Bill" Richardson	1985-present	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-New Mexico, 1983-1997)
Bill Green	1986-2002	U.S. Congressman (Republican-New York, 1978-1993)
Sam Gejdenson	1988-1997	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Connecticut, 1981-2001)
Louis Stokes	1988-2003	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Ohio, 1969-1999)
Robert T. Matsui	1988-2004	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-California, 1979-2005)
Howard Wolpe	1988-present	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Michigan, 1979-1993)
Dave K. McCurdy	1988-present	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Oklahoma, 1981-1995)
Mel Levine	1988-present	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-California, 1983-1993)
Jim Moody	1988-present	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Wisconsin, 1983-1993)
Thomas E. Petri	1989-present	U.S. Congressman (Republican-Wisconsin, 1979-present)
Richard A. "Dick" Gephardt	1990-present	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Missouri, 1977-2005)
Newton L. "Newt" Gingrich	1990-present	U.S. Congressman (Republican-Georgia, 1979-1999)
John M. Spratt Jr.	1990-present	U.S. Congressman (Democrat-South Carolina, 1983-2011)
Stephen G. Breyer	1983-present	Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit [Boston] (1980-1994)
Ruth Bader Ginsburg	1973-present	Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit (1980-1993)
Mario Cuomo	1983-2000	Governor of New York (1983-1995)
William J. "Bill" Clinton	1989-present	Governor of Arkansas (1979-1981, 1983-1992)
Tom Bradley	1985-1993	Mayor of Los Angeles, California (1973-1993)
<b>Bankers:</b>		
Lewis T. Preston	1974-1995	President of The World Bank (1991-1995)
Richard D. Erb	1982-present	Deputy Managing Director of International Monetary Fund (1984-1994)
Alan Greenspan	1978-present	Chairman of the Federal Reserve (1987-2006)
E. Gerald Corrigan	1986-1997	President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1985-1993)
Stephen Friedman	1984-present	Chairman of Goldman Sachs & Co. (1990-1994)
Willard C. Butcher	1970-1991	Chairman and CEO of Chase Manhattan Bank (1981-1990)
Thomas G. Labrecque	1986-2000	Chairman and CEO of Chase Manhattan Corp. (1991-1995)
Robert R. Douglass	1974-present	Vice Chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank (1985-1993)
Dennis Weatherstone	1990-2007	Chairman of J.P. Morgan & Co. (1990-1995)
John S. Reed	1984-1996	Chairman and CEO of Citibank (1984-1998)
John P. Birkelund	1968-present	Chairman and CEO of Dillon, Read & Co. (1988-1993)
Walter V. Shipley	1976-present	Chairman of the board of Chemical Bank (1983-1991, 1994-1996)
Donald B. Marron	1971-present	Chairman and CEO of PaineWebber Inc. (1980-2000)
John H. Gutfreund	1978-present	Chairman of the board and CEO of Salomon Brothers, Inc. (1981-1991)
Frank G. Zarb	1978-present	Chairman and CEO of Smith, Barney, Harris, Upham & Co., Inc. (1988-1993)
Charles S. Sanford Jr.	1984-1996	Chairman of Bankers Trust Co. (1987-1996)
Robert V. Roosa	1957-1993	Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1965-1993)
Robert L. Ireland III	1971-1993	Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1960-c.1994)
Alexander T. Ercklentz	1988-present	Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1978-present)
James D. Robinson III	1973-present	Chairman and CEO of American Express Co. (1977-1993)
Philip Caldwell	1985-2009	Senior Managing Director of Lehman Brothers (1985-1998)
Richard C. Holbrooke	1970-2010	Managing Director of Lehman Brothers (1985-1993)
<b>Businessmen:</b>		
Maurice R. Greenberg	1977-present	Chairman and CEO of American International Group (1989-2005)
William A. Schreyer	1989-1993	Chairman and CEO of Merrill Lynch & Co. (1984-1993)
Lawrence G. Rawl	1986-1993	Chairman and CEO of Exxon (1986-1993)
Allen E. Murray	1981-2002	Chairman and CEO of Mobil Oil Corp. (1986-1994)
Alfred C. DeCrane Jr.	1988-present	Chairman of Texaco (1987-1996)
C.J. Silas	1988-present	Chairman and CEO of Phillips Petroleum Co. (1985-1994)
Richard J. Stegemeier	1989-1994	Chairman and CEO of Unocal (1988-1994)
Henry B. Schacht	1971-present	Chairman and CEO of Cummins Engine Co. (1977-1995)
John F. Akers	1985-1993	Chairman and CEO of International Business Machines [IBM] (1986-1993)
Rand V. Araskog	1982-1998	Chairman and CEO of ITT Corporation (1980-1998)
John L. Clendenin	1985-1995	Chairman, President, and CEO of BellSouth Corporation (1984-1996)
Roberto C. Goizueta	1981-1996	Chairman and CEO of The Coca-Cola Company (1981-1997)
Louis V. Gerstner Jr.	1982-present	Chairman and CEO of RJR Nabisco Inc. (1989-1993)
Dwayne O. Andreas	1988-2005	Chairman of Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. (1979-1997)
Robert D. Haas	1983-present	Chairman of Levi Strauss & Co. (1989-2008)
Leonard A. Lauder	1988-present	Chief Executive Officer of Estee Lauder Co. (1982-1999)
David T. Kearns	1984-1997	Chairman of Xerox Corp. (1985-1991)
Paul A. Allaire	1989-present	President (1986-1991) and Chairman (1991-2001) of Xerox Corp.
Kenneth W. Dam	1982-present	Vice President for Law and External Relations, IBM Corporation (1985-1992)

Henry A. Kissinger	1956-2009	Founder and Chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc. (1982-present)
L. Paul Bremer III	1990-present	Managing Director of Kissinger Associates, Inc. (1989-2000)
<b>Lawyers:</b>		
Benjamin W. Heineman Jr.	1990-present	Senior Vice President and General Counsel of General Electric Co. (1987-2004)
George W. Ball	1949-1993	Of Counsel of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton (1966-1968, 1969-1994)
Cyrus R. Vance	1968-2001	Partner of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett (1956-1961, 1967-1977, 1980-1998)
Lloyd N. Cutler	1974-2004	Senior Counsel of Wilmer Cutler Pickering (1990-2005)
William Eldred Jackson	1947-1999	Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1954-1999)
Francis D. Logan	1984-present	Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1965-1996)
Manuel R. Angulo	1974-1993	Partner of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle (1961-c.1993)
Henry L. King	1985-present	Chairman and Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1982-1996)
Robert B. von Mehren	1954-present	Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1957-1993)
Roswell B. Perkins	1956-present	Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1957-1996)
Philip S. Winterer	1975-present	Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1966-1993)
M. Bernard Aidinoff	1976-present	Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1963-1996)
Frederick A.O. Schwarz Jr.	1970-1981, 1988-2001	Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (1969-1975, 1976-1981, 1987-2001)
Matthew Nimetz	1973-present	Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1974-1977, 1981-2000)
William T. Coleman Jr.	1972-present	Senior Partner of O'Melveny & Myers (1977-present)
Warren M. Christopher	1973-2010	Partner of O'Melveny & Myers (1958-1967, 1969-1976, 1981-1993)
Vernon E. Jordan Jr.	1978-present	Partner of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (1981-2000)
Joseph A. Califano Jr.	1973-present	Senior Partner of Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby, Palmer & Wood (1983-1992)
<b>Corporate Media:</b>		
Katharine Graham	1970-2000	Chairman of the board of The Washington Post Co. (1973-1993)
W. Thomas Johnson	1973-present	President and CEO of Cable News Network (CNN) (1990-2001)
Caspar W. Weinberger	1981-2005	Publisher of <i>Forbes</i> magazine (1989-1993)
Peter R. Kann	1985-present	Publisher of <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> (1989-2002)
David A. Laventhal	1980-present	Publisher of <i>Los Angeles Times</i> (1989-1993)
Arnaud de Borchgrave	1975-present	Editor-in-Chief of <i>The Washington Times</i> (1985-1991)
Mortimer B. Zuckerman	1988-present	Editor-in-Chief of <i>U.S. News and World Report</i> (1984-present)
Jason D. McManus	1988-present	Editor-in-Chief of <i>Time</i> magazine (1987-1995)
Walter S. Isaacson	1979-1984, 1987-pres.	Senior Editor of <i>Time</i> magazine (1989-1991)
Jim Hoagland	1979-present	Associate Editor & Chief Foreign Correspondent, <i>Washington Post</i> (1986-pres.)
Robert G. Kaiser	1979-present	Managing Editor of <i>The Washington Post</i> (1991-1998)
Meg Greenfield	1973-1998	Editorial Page Editor of <i>The Washington Post</i> (1979-1999)
Stephen S. Rosenfeld	1982-2010	Deputy Editorial Page Editor of <i>The Washington Post</i> (1982-1999)
Robert B. Semple Jr.	1977-1996	Associate Editorial Page Editor of <i>The New York Times</i> (1988-present)
Robert L. Bartley	1979-2003	Editor of <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> (1979-2003)
Robert J. White	1976-2011	Editorial Page Editor of <i>Minneapolis Star Tribune</i> (1982-1992)
Tom Brokaw	1988-present	Anchor of NBC Nightly News (1982-2004)
Dan Rather	1980-present	Anchor of CBS Evening News (1981-2005)
Barbara Walters	1978-present	Co-Host and Chief Correspondent of ABC News' 20/20 (1979-2004)
William F. Buckley Jr.	1974-2003	Editor-at-Large of <i>National Review</i> magazine (1991-2004)
Strobe Talbott	1975-present	Editor-at-Large and Foreign Affairs Columnist for <i>Time</i> magazine (1989-1993)
Thomas L. Friedman	1985-present	Chief Diplomatic Correspondent for <i>The New York Times</i> (1989-1992)
Norman Pearlstine	1984-present	Managing Editor and Vice President of <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> (1983-1991)
Charles Krauthammer	1990-present	Syndicated Columnist for <i>The Washington Post</i> (1984-present)
A.M. Rosenthal	1963-2006	Columnist for <i>The New York Times</i> (1986-1999)
<b>Organization Executives:</b>		
Edgar M. Bronfman Sr.	1976-2013	President of World Jewish Congress (1981-2007)
Thomas A. Dine	1978-present	Executive Director of American Israel Public Affairs Committee (1980-1993)
David Rockefeller	1942-present	North American Chairman of the Trilateral Commission (1977-1991)
Peter G. Peterson	1971-present	Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations (1985-2007)
Thomas L. Hughes	1967-present	President of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1971-1991)
Peter C. Goldmark Jr.	1979-present	President of The Rockefeller Foundation (1988-1997)
Franklin A. Thomas	1978-present	President of Ford Foundation (1979-1996)
William G. Bowen	1987-2007	President of Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (1988-2006)
Ralph E. Gomory	1987-present	President of Alfred P. Sloan Foundation (1989-2007)
David A. Hamburg	1983-present	President of Carnegie Corporation of New York (1982-1997)
James A. Thomson	1988-present	President of RAND Corporation (1989-2011)
Bruce K. MacLaury	1968-present	President of The Brookings Institution (1977-1995)
Martin S. Feldstein	1980-present	President of National Bureau of Economic Research (1977-1982, 1984-2008)
Clifton R. Wharton Jr.	1967-present	Chairman and CEO of TIAA-CREF (1987-1993)
Stephen M. Schwobel	1956-present	Judge of the International Court of Justice (1981-2000)
Ronald I. Spiers	1975-present	Under Secretary General of the United Nations for Political Affairs (1989-1992)
Lane Kirkland	1973-1999	President of AFL-CIO (1979-1995)
<b>College Professors:</b>		
Michael I. Sovern	1977-present	President of Columbia University (1980-1993)
Benno C. Schmidt Jr.	1986-present	President of Yale University (1986-1992)

Harold T. Shapiro	1991-2007	President of Princeton University (1988-2001)
Vartan Gregorian	1984-present	President of Brown University (1989-1997)
Frank H.T. Rhodes	1985-1995	President of Cornell University (1977-1995)
Donald Kennedy	1983-1993	President of Stanford University (1980-1992)
Hanna Holborn Gray	1983-present	President of University of Chicago (1978-1993)
Thomas Ehrlich	1972-2001	President of Indiana University (1987-1994)
Edward T. Foote II	1982-present	President of University of Miami [Florida] (1981-2001)
S. Frederick Starr	1979-2005	President of Oberlin College (1983-1994)
James T. Laney	1986-present	President of Emory University [Atlanta, Georgia] (1977-1993)
Gerhard Casper	1985-present	Provost of University of Chicago (1989-1992)
Jeswald Salacuse	1989-present	Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University (1986-1994)
Robert D. Putnam	1981-present	Dean, Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University (1989-1991)
George R. Packard	1971-present	Dean, School of Advanced Int'l Studies at Johns Hopkins Univ. (1979-1993)
Alfred C. Stepan	1975-present	Dean, School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia Univ. (1983-1991)
Donald E. Stokes	1987-1996	Dean, Wdrw. Wilson School of Public & Int'l Affairs at Princeton U. (1974-1992)
L. Carl Brown	1986-2005	Garrett Professor of Foreign Affairs at Princeton University (1970-1993)
Gustav Ranis	1970-present	Frank Altschul Professor of International Economics at Yale Univ. (1982-2005)

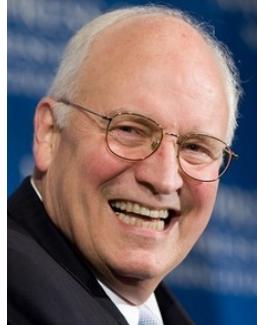
## Council on Foreign Relations Members and Their Occupation during the Persian Gulf War



James A. Baker III  
U.S. Secretary of State  
(1989-1992)



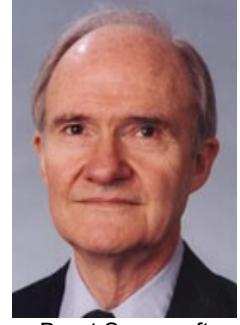
Gen. Colin L. Powell  
U.S. Secretary of State  
(2001-2005); Chairman of  
the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
(1989-1993)



Dick Cheney  
Vice President of the U.S.  
(2001-2009); Secretary of  
Defense (1989-1993)



Paul D. Wolfowitz  
President of The World  
Bank (2005-2007);  
Deputy Secretary of  
Defense (2001-2005)



Brent Scowcroft  
National Security Advisor  
(1975-1977, 1989-1993)



Robert M. Gates  
U.S. Secretary of Defense  
(2006-2011); Director of  
Central Intelligence  
Agency (1991-1993)



Condoleezza Rice  
U.S. Secretary of State  
(2005-2009); National  
Security Advisor  
(2001-2005)



Sir Alan Greenspan  
Chairman of the Federal  
Reserve (1987-2006)



Nicholas F. Brady  
Chairman and CEO of  
Dillon, Read & Co.  
(1982-1988); Secretary of  
the Treasury (1988-1993)



William H. Webster  
Director of Central  
Intelligence Agency  
(1987-1991)



L. Paul Bremer III  
U.S. Pro-Consul, Iraq  
(2003-2004); U.S.  
Ambassador to the  
Netherlands (1983-1986)



Zalmay Khalilzad  
U.S. Ambassador to Iraq  
(2005-2007); U.S.  
Ambassador to  
Afghanistan (2003-2005)



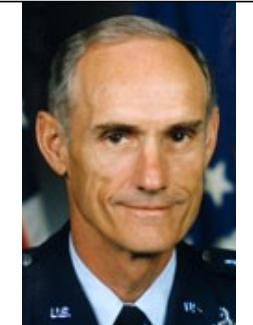
John D. Negroponte  
U.S. Ambassador to Iraq  
(2004-2005);  
U.S. Rep. to the United  
Nations (2001-2004)



Thomas R. Pickering  
U.S. Representative to  
the United Nations  
(1989-1992)



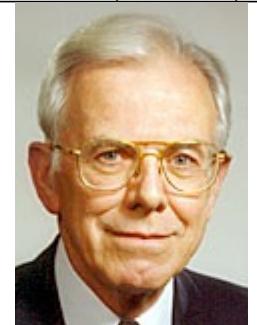
Frank G. Wisner II  
U.S. Ambassador to  
Egypt (1986-1991)



Gen. Merrill A. McPeak  
Air Force Chief of Staff  
(1990-1994)



Gen. Carl E. Vuono  
Army Chief of Staff  
(1987-1991)



Gen. John R. Galvin  
Supreme Allied  
Commander of Europe  
(1987-1992)



Douglas J. Feith  
Under Secretary of  
Defense for Policy  
(2001-2005)



Dov S. Zakheim  
Comptroller of the  
Department of Defense  
(2001-2005)



Alfred C. DeCrane Jr.  
Chairman of Texaco  
(1987-1996)



C.J. Silas  
Chairman and CEO of  
Phillips Petroleum Co.  
(1985-1994)



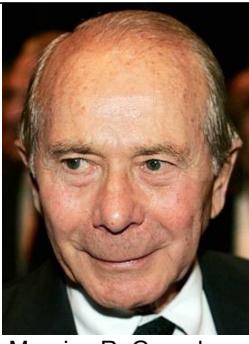
Lee R. Raymond  
Chairman and CEO of  
ExxonMobil (1999-2006)



Lawrence G. Rawl  
Chairman and CEO of  
Exxon (1986-1993)



Richard J. Stegemeier  
Chairman and CEO of  
Unocal (1988-1994)



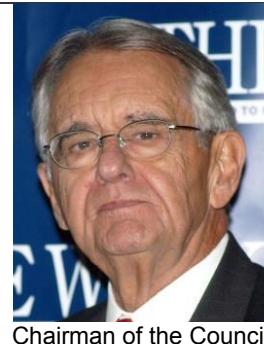
Maurice R. Greenberg  
Chairman and CEO of  
American International Group (1989-2005)



Henry A. Kissinger  
Founder and Chairman of  
Kissinger Associates, Inc.  
(1982-present)



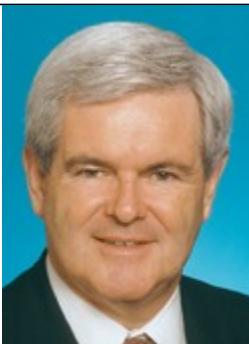
David Rockefeller  
North American Chairman  
of the Trilateral  
Commission (1977-1991)



Chairman of the Council  
on Foreign Relations  
(1985-2007)



James D. Wolfensohn  
President of the World  
Bank (1995-2005)



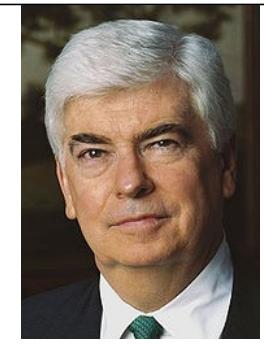
Newt Gingrich  
U.S. Congressman  
(R-Georgia, 1979-1999)



Dick Gephardt  
U.S. Congressman  
(D-Missouri, 1977-2005)



William S. Cohen  
Secretary of Defense  
(1997-2001);  
U.S. Senator (R-Maine,  
1979-1997)



Christopher J. Dodd  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Connecticut,  
1981-2011)



Jay Rockefeller  
U.S. Senator  
(D-West Virginia,  
1985-present)



Gen. John P. Abizaid  
Commander, U.S. Central  
Command (2003-2007)



Gen. Richard B. Myers  
Chairman of the Joint  
Chiefs of Staff  
(2001-2005)



Gen. John P. Jumper  
Air Force Chief of Staff  
(2001-2005)



(Gen.) Eric K. Shinseki  
Army Chief of Staff  
(1999-2003)



Gen. James L. Jones Jr.  
Supreme Allied  
Commander of Europe  
(2003-2006); National  
Security Advisor (2009-  
2010)



Arlington National Cemetery in Arlington, Virginia. A total of 4416 American servicemen (soldiers, marines, sailors, and airmen) perished in Operation Iraqi Freedom; may their souls rest in peace.



Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington, Virginia, U.S.A. To all Americans who were killed in action or declared missing in action in Operation Desert Storm and Operation Iraqi Freedom; may your souls rest in peace.